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1,500 Feared Dead in Philippine Disaster

By Gregg Jones
 Washington Post Service

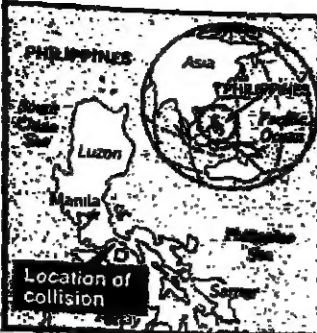
MANILA — Philippine Navy ships continued an apparently futile search late Monday for more than 1,500 passengers and crew members of a ferry that sank after a fiery collision with an oil tanker Sunday night in a well-used shipping channel.

The sinking was the worst peacetime shipping disaster since the Titanic and, depending on the final toll, perhaps the worst ever.

It occurred about 10 P.M. Sunday when a small tanker, the MT Victor, loaded with 8,000 barrels of oil, collided with the MV Dona Paz, an interisland ferry with 1,493 Manila-bound passengers officially listed, the Coast Guard said.

The vessels were bound for Mindoro and Marinduque islands, about 110 miles (180 kilometers) south of Manila.

Upon impact, the tanker ruptured and the oil exploded into flames, which quickly spread to the



ferry and the surrounding waters, survivors said.

A passenger ship, the Don Claudio, took 26 survivors, including two of the tanker's 13 crewmen, to Manila. Most had serious burns from the flaming oil on the water around the ships. Three U.S. Air Force helicopters searched for survivors but found none.

Authorities would not comment on reports from some survivors that the ferry was packed with more than 3,000 passengers, twice as many as the vessel was licensed to carry.

Survivors said the three-deck ship was so crowded that four people were sharing one-person cots and the passageways and decks were crisscrossed with passengers.

Lieutenant Commander Cipriano Luspore, a Coast Guard spokesman, said the ship was capable of carrying 2,200 people. The Associated Press reported.

Some survivors said both ships had lights on but neither blew its horn in warning.

Captain Melcio Barranco of the Don Claudio said his crew gave up the search Sunday evening after sweeping the shark-infested waters with searchlights for hours.

The Philippine Navy searched the site all day Monday with patrol boats, a plane and a helicopter, assisted by four commercial vessels. As darkness fell, nearly 24

hours after the disaster, there were no signs of survivors, the authorities said.

Most of the travelers were on their way to visit relatives for Christmas, which is perhaps the most important holiday of the year in the predominantly Catholic Philippines.

Interisland ferries are the cheapest means of transport in the Philippine archipelago, and the usually crowded vessels become even more so during the holidays.

One survivor, Almarino Balandia, said that minutes before the collision he had gone below deck to the ferry's dining hall but it was too crowded so he returned to the upper deck. He said he felt a tremendous impact, and the ship exploded in flames.

"I saw many people, some of them screaming," he said. As flames engulfed the ship, he jumped overboard, he said.

"When I jumped into the water, See FERRY, Page 4

Afghan Guerrillas Step Up the Pressure

By Anthony Davis
 Washington Post Service

KORAN, Afghanistan — As resistance fighters burst into the Afghan government's military police garrison here, a rebel rifle bullet smashed into the chest of the garrison commander, sending him sprawling in death across his own bed.

Around him lay the wreckage of petty officialdom. Files, ledgers and papers were strewn across the floor; chairs were overturned and cabinets smashed open. Torn and trampled underfoot were propaganda posters and pamphlets hailing a brave socialist future for an Afghanistan that he, for one, would never see.

The expression frozen on the man's face seemed less one of pain than of surprise at how the mujahidin, or Islamic "holy warriors," had swept quickly across this base in a rugged, strategic valley of Afghanistan's northeast. Most of the government forces surrendered within an hour and 40 minutes.

The attack, witnessed during a three-month trip through north-

New Soviet Offer on Pullout

By David K. Shipler
 New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A senior State Department official disclosed Monday that during the summit meeting earlier this month, Mikhail S. Gorbachev made a new offer to have Soviet troops refrain from offensive combat operations during any period of their withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Michael H. Armacost, the U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, called the Soviet leader's offer "positive" and portrayed it as a step toward a formula for withdrawal that the United States would consider acceptable. Other unresolved issues include the length of

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(one of seven parties in the main resistance alliance based in Pakistan) and led by the party's foremost commander in northern Afghanistan, Ahmed Shah Massoud, 35, a guerrilla strategist who rose to prominence in the bitterly contested Panjsher Valley northeast of Kabul.

In most of Afghanistan, the guerrillas' attacks simply harass and inflict losses on Soviet and Afghan government posts. But Mr. Massoud has managed to capture important bases.

An avowed Islamic revolutionary from his student days, but with a reputation for pragmatism and flexibility, the guerrilla chief in an interview expressed skepticism, despite diplomatic rumors of such a development, about the likelihood of a Soviet withdrawal that would permit genuine Afghan self-determination.

He envisioned a protracted, popular-based guerrilla war, in which fighters based in rural areas surround and strangle an urban-based enemy. His idea appeared to draw

See AFGHAN, Page 4



An Israeli soldier moving away from Palestinians on Monday at a protest march in Gaza.

The Angry Young Men of Gaza

Having Grown Up Under Israeli Rule, the 'Shebab' Lash Out

By John Kifner
 New York Times Service

BUREI, Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip — The "shebab," hot-eyed, desperate, angry young men, were gathered outside the tiny cinder-block dwelling — it would be hard to call it a house — mourning Abdul Salam Fatah, who had been shot to death by the Israeli Army.

Shebab in formal Arabic means "youths," but in the language of the street, it translates roughly as "the guys."

The word is on everybody's lips in the Gaza Strip these days. It is the Palestinian youngsters, the shebab, who have grown up under 20 years of Israeli occupation and who are leading out in violent demonstrations that have so far left at least 16 of their number dead.

The hostility between the Palestinian youths and the Israelis is partly an outgrowth of the dilemma

that sovereignty over the Gaza Strip poses for Israel. Neither Egypt nor Jordan claims the territory, and Israel fears that if it were to relinquish control, Gaza could become a base for the Palestine Liberation Organization, which could use it to jeopardize Israeli security.

The incident that touched off the current protests was a traffic accident early this month in which four Gaza workers died. Rumors spread that the collision of the Arab vehicle with a truck driven by an Israeli was a reprisal for the fatal stabbing of an Israeli in a Gaza market the week before.

But in recent days, the riots, which were born of frustration, powerlessness and rage, have appeared increasingly organized. They have included efforts to block Arab workers from assuming their vital role in the Israeli economy and attacks on Israeli-owned banks

in Arab East Jerusalem by rock-throwing demonstrators. The anger is greatest in Burei and the seven other desolate refugee centers in the Gaza strip, 175 square miles of misery on the Mediterranean, where open sewers run down the dirt streets.

According to an Israeli government report, 59.1 percent of the population of the Gaza Strip, which is ruled by the Israeli Army, is under 19. Abdul Salam Fatah was typical of the shebab.

Twenty-six years old, he grew up in Burei, a ramshackle collection of shanties with tin roofs held down by rocks and dirt roads that climb the side of a hill off the main highway.

He worked as an auto-body repairman in Israel, the sole support of his mother, three brothers, six sisters, his wife and infant son. He wore the beard of an Islamic funda-

See GAZA, Page 4

Protests Spread In Israel

3 More Killed As Palestinians Hold a Strike

By John Kifner
 New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Hundreds of thousands of Israeli Arabs joined Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip on Monday in an extraordinary, virtually total general strike to protest against Israel's handling of the wave of unrest.

At least three Palestinian protesters, reportedly throwing firebombs, were shot to death by the army in the West Bank as the clashes went into their 13th day. Another Palestinian died of wounds in a Gaza hospital, raising the confirmed death toll to at least 30.

A senior commander said Monday night that the Israeli Army would send more troops, prepared to take "tougher measures" into the West Bank on Tuesday because the "restraint shown in the last two weeks has apparently been interpreted as weakness."

Arab towns and villages in the northern Galilee and other parts of pre-1967 Israel were closed, every shop shuttered, as were those in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem.

More important, the huge army of cheap Arab laborers who wait on tables, pick vegetables, haul garbage, lay brick and perform most of Israel's menial work stayed home. More than 100,000 workers from the occupied territories came into Israel each day, filling a vital role in the Israeli economy.

What was significant about the events on Monday was that the unrest spread from the occupied territories to Israel itself and that it appeared to unite Arabs who are citizens of Israel with those who consider themselves stateless Palestinians.

"This is unprecedented, in that it's the first time the Israeli Arabs are following the Arabs in the territories," said Yehuda Litani, an Arab affairs specialist at The Jerusalem Post. "We've had clashes today in places where they have never been — Jaffa, Abu Ghosh, these places are very quiet."

As the day began in the Israeli Arab town of Nazareth, Arab youths, their heads swathed in checkered Arab headscarves, snuffed onions to cut the effect of tear gas and hurled rocks at the police, just like their counterparts in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The biggest confrontation in a day when there were incidents, mostly rock throwing, scattered over a wide area came on Monday afternoon when about 3,000 Israeli Arab residents of Umm el-Fahm marched to block the main highway.

See ISRAEL, Page 4

Kiosk

10 Republicans Back Arms Pact

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Ten Republican senators pledged their support of the U.S.-Soviet arms treaty at a White House meeting Monday and Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate Republican leader, called the pledge "a big step in guaranteeing a big Republican vote for the treaty."

Mr. Dole, who announced his support for the medium-range missile treaty on Thursday, had accompanied the Republicans to the White House. He said senators congratulated President Ronald Reagan for achieving the accord and gave him "support for it in principle."

Mr. Dole said the senators expressed "varying views" on the treaty but wanted to play a constructive role in the Senate ratification process.



Just in time for the party season, a book of overheard small talk has come out in London. Mary Blume, Page 5.

GENERAL NEWS

■ The U.S. Congress appeared to be on the verge of approving a budget package. Page 3.

SPORTS

■ East Germany and Hungary accepted invitations to compete in the Seoul Olympics. Page 15.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ BA acquired controlling stake in British Caledonian. Page 9.

Dow close: UP 15.08
 The dollar in New York:
 DM £ Yen FF
 1.6288 1.832 126.60 5.5045



King Hussein Is Welcomed in the Soviet Union

King Hussein of Jordan and President Andrei A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union reviewing a Soviet honor guard Monday after the king arrived in Moscow on an official visit. King Hussein was scheduled to meet Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, on Tuesday and was expected to urge the Kremlin to support an international arms embargo against Iran. He was hailed by the Communist Party newspaper Pravda on Monday as an "advocate of greater unity of Arab states."

La Dictée: The Magnificent Obsession of French Education

By Stanley Meisler
 Los Angeles Times Service

PARIS — Once a day, children in French elementary schools take the dictée, several nerve-racking, sometimes dreaded minutes in which they must write down exactly what their teacher dictates. Nothing reveals all that is unique in the French educational system better than the dictée.

It tests spelling and grammar and, as usually graded, it demands near perfection. A few errors mean failure, even a zero. It sometimes seems that nothing is more important in French education.

"I remember a French teacher," a Belgian journalist said recently, "who told us that until we learned to put a comma in the right place, we would not understand mathematics."

Americans, of course, have spelling bees. The spelling bee, however, bears about as much resemblance to the dictée as chopped liver does to foie gras. A spelling bee is not as intricate, fearsome or significant.

guest in the televised finals of the national dictée contest. She made seven and a half errors in 15 complex sentences. Minor mistakes, such as a wrong accent, count as half an error.

"I am ashamed," she said. The reader of the dictée, Bernard Pivot, a journalist and host of the popular literary television show "Apostrophes," tried to console her. He said anyone who made fewer than 10 mistakes had triumphed.

"Anytime I make more than five errors on a dictée," she said, "I am ashamed."

Few American writers would feel such shame about making spelling or grammar errors. Ernest Hemingway spent a lifetime misspelling, filling his manuscripts with such glaring mistakes as optimistic, apologize and volume.

"The last thing I remember about English in high school," he once wrote, "was a big controversy on whether it was already or all ready. How did it ever come out?"

The dictée contest, organized by Mr. Pivot three years ago, generates enormous excitement in France. In 1987, there were 36,414 entrants. After a series

of qualifying rounds, the field was narrowed to 122 finalists. Floating through Paris on a boat in the Seine, they listened to Mr. Pivot dictate. Celebrities, such as Ms. Giroud, Laurence Fignon, a bicycle racing star, and Inès de la Fressange, Chanel's premier model, took the test. So did most of the French journalists covering the event.

Mr. Pivot, before he began to read, told the contestants: "This dictée is easier than last year's. But that does not mean it is angelic."

Seven million people, many with pencil and paper in hand, watched the dictation on television. Eight million tuned in several hours later to see the winner. Juliette Goulat, 38, announced and the correct dictée transcript displayed. The winner, a government price control inspector from the Norman port of Caen, made no mistakes.

Mr. Pivot, editor of the literary magazine Lire, once tried to explain the dictée's hold on the French imagination. He said the French attachment was fueled by nostalgia for "the happiness and torments of childhood," by a need to play

games and by "the love for our language."

"Despite the wounds that we inflict on it every day," Mr. Pivot wrote, "the language, the French language, remains in our eyes a precious good, a heritage to defend, a living body of astounding astonishment whose vagaries, exceptions to the rules and inexhaustible richness never cease to amuse us."

Foreign educators, however, usually regard the dictée with suspicion, for it is heavily dependent on memorization and is a passive, noncreative exercise for the student. The dictée embodies many of the wrongs that foreigners see in French education, such as memorization, lack of creativity and overemphasis on literary matters.

Moreover, the dictée may seem so awe-inspiring and daunting an exercise to some pupils that they give up in the face of their continual failure. France has a schooled population that, in general, speaks French with great precision. But a 1984 government report estimated that there may be 300,000 to 400,000 French-born, French-educated adult illiterates.

Although the Académie Française proclaimed in 1694 that good spelling is "what distinguishes men of letters from the ignorant and from simple women," the dictée appears not to have entered French education until the early 19th century. During that century, education was transformed from the elitist system of prerevolutionary times into a system that reached more of the general population.

The broadening of education was accompanied by a campaign to standardize grammar and spelling, perhaps to ensure that the language would not somehow be weakened as more and more French citizens attended school.

U.S. Export Bank Will Seek Bailout

By Clyde H. Farnsworth
 New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Export-Import Bank, a government agency that helps finance U.S. exports, is incurring such losses that its capital will be wiped out within nine months, and in January it will ask Congress for a \$3 billion bailout, its chief executive says.

The chief executive, John A. Bohn Jr., president of the Ex-Im Bank, said that since the early 1980s the bank's losses had averaged \$250 million to \$300 million a year. For the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, the bank's loss was a record \$387 million.

The bank's financial problems come at a time of severe federal

budget constraints, with a deficit that must be reduced by \$30 billion in the 1988 fiscal year, which began Oct. 1. Congressional analysts did not rate too highly the Ex-Im Bank's chances of getting a capital replenishment.

Yet at the same time, government officials, economists and investors in the United States and abroad are greatly concerned with the U.S. trade deficit, which rose sharply in October to \$17.6 billion. A reduction in or end to the bank's support for U.S. exports might contribute to a worsening deficit.

Behind the red ink are loans made in the late 1970s and early 1980s when interest rates soared. The bank lends to customers of

U.S. exporters at rates below the cost of the money it borrows from the U.S. Treasury. In 1981, it paid as much as 15.75 percent interest to the Treasury's Federal Financing Bank, and it made loan commitments to customers of Boeing Co., Westinghouse Electric Corp., Combustion Engineering Inc. and other exporters at rates of less than 10 percent. The Ex-Im Bank made the commitments to be competitive with the export credit agencies of Japan, France, West Germany and other countries offering similar subsidy terms to promote their own exports.

Since 1982, industrial countries

See EXPORT, Page 13

Loser Offers Apologies to Korea Voters

By Fred Hiatt
 Washington Post Service

SEOUL — The defeated opposition leader Kim Dae Jung apologized Monday to the South Korean people, saying that his inability to form a common front with a rival opposition leader, Kim Young Sam, allowed the ruling party to retain power in last week's election.

The apology represented an about-face for Mr. Kim, who earlier said that government fraud was so widespread that even a unified opposition candidate would have lost.

In advertisements published on the front pages of afternoon dailies, he called government cheating but said the division of anti-government forces also contributed to their loss.

"I sincerely apologize and realize that my responsibility is so great that I cannot bear it," Mr. Kim said in the advertisement. "The cause for the failure to defeat the regime lay in the failure to achieve a single candidacy."

The ruling party candidate, Roh Tae Woo, was elected with 36.6 percent of the vote in South Korea's first election in 16 years. He is scheduled to succeed President Chun Doo Hwan Feb. 25. The two Kim's together polled 55 percent; with Kim Dae Jung third behind Mr. Roh and Kim Young Sam.

Both Kim's initially blamed their loss on government manipulation and urged rejection of the results. Many people, including opposition supporters, said they felt angry that the Kim's refused to accept responsibility after breaking their promise to field a single candidate.

Kim Young Sam apologized last

See KIM, Page 4

IDAN MORLEY
 EVERY WEDNESDAY
 CRITICISM
 ON THEATRE

Page 6
 FOR MORE
 CLASSIFIED

U.S.-Soviet Missile Treaty Produces Belgian Fallout

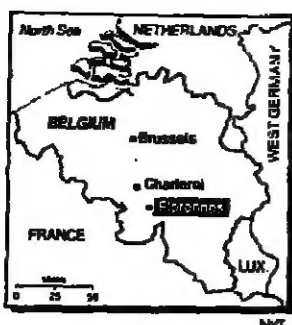
By Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

FLORENNES, Belgium — Construction on a 650-unit U.S. housing project has suddenly come to a halt. Mayor Louis Timmermans will have to build the new sewers out of his municipal budget.

Renaud Henet, who runs Le Manhattan Cafe, said it looks like the U.S. Air Force personnel who stopped in regularly for a drink will have to leave just as they were starting to learn a little French.

Claudio Constant, who has rented his apartment to six American families in a row, refuses to believe the U.S. military will pull out of this bleak little town in the southern Belgian Ardennes region, insisting that something new is bound to come along to keep them and their rent dollars around.

Under terms of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear disarmament treaty signed Dec. 8 in Washington, however, the Tomahawk cruise missiles assigned to the 1,300-



man 485th Tactical Missile Wing at Florennes Air Base will have to be eliminated over the next three years.

The treaty, which will shut down missile sites in four other West European countries as well, has been hailed as a major step in arms control and a reward for the decision to deploy cruise missiles in Western Europe despite objections from peace organizations.

Florennes has had more than its share of demonstrations since the first 16 missiles arrived here in

the spring of 1985, the initial step in Belgium's planned total deployment of 48 by 1990.

But as the process reaches its culmination and the missiles are slated for destruction, the 4,000 residents of this farming town seem far removed from the triumphant diplomacy of Washington or the grand debates of Brussels.

In Florennes, where unemployment is running at 24 percent and the regional economy is flagging, people are thinking instead about lost income.

"We thought the missile deployment would maybe get this region moving again," Mr. Henet said. "Now people say the Americans are going to leave. Some people are not going to have it so good any more."

A lot of money was allocated for that, and it made things flow. But I guess that's going to stop now."

Mr. Timmermans calculated that 110 local people could lose their jobs if the base is eliminated entirely, rather than being altered

for another use. But the overall economic repercussions will be much wider, he said.

"That guy who just knocked on the door," he gestured toward the entrance to his town hall office. "He runs a gasoline station. Ask him how much he sells to the Americans. There are a lot of people like that."

About \$125 million was allocated for building the missile installations and support facilities that have risen just out of town. U.S. funds and the NATO infrastructure fund, to which Belgium contributes 4.59 percent, financed the work, which lacks only the housing.

Mr. Timmermans said deploying the missiles was politically wise for the West and beneficial for his town. Florennes never really participated in the noisy debates over deploying the missiles because people here "don't give ainker's dam about it," he said.

"I facilitated the entry of the missiles here because the people are for it," he added. "I'll give you

1,000 francs if you can go out in the street and find three people who will come here and tell me they are against the missiles."

If the people of Florennes mostly took nuclear missiles in their stride, it is perhaps because they have a long history of ties to the military. The town was founded by medieval lords as a fortified stronghold.

The air base, which also houses Belgian Air Force Mirage-5s, was begun by Germany in 1942. It was taken by the U.S. Army in 1944 and P-38 Lightnings took off from here to provide air cover during the Battle of the Bulge.

The Belgian military took it over in 1947. But troops of other NATO nations have been stationed here periodically since then and local residents have grown used to the whine of fighters.

"We have always had foreign troops here — German, French, English, American," Mr. Timmermans said. "It was the Germans who built the base in the first place."

British Plan To Remain In a Science Unit, CERN

By Walter Sullivan
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — What many regard as Europe's most effective scientific collaboration, the European Organization for Nuclear Research, known by the French acronym CERN, has survived a critical test after Britain conditionally agreed to remain a member.

The organization, which was formed after World War II and is based near Geneva, is made up of 14 European countries. Britain provides 16 percent of its budget.

The British said Sunday that they would remain in the organization if changes recommended by a special CERN commission, headed by the French physicist Anatole Abramo, were adopted.

According to CERN officials, the commission noted the "resounding success" of research efforts at the organization, but found the enterprise "doomed to inefficiency" if it was not revitalized.

It recommended that the organization streamline operations of the center, let go 300 of its staff of 3,500 people over the next five years and replace some of them with younger people. The estimated budget saving would be from 3 to 5 percent.

The officials said, however, that the staff be changed through a process of attrition rather than dismissal.

The organization's budget is about \$600 million. Each country is also expected to provide for financial support of its own researchers.

In meetings last week, the CERN Council, made up of representatives from all member nations, considered the recommendations of the Abramo commission.

In other action, the CERN Council announced Dr. Carlo Rubbia to be the director-general, starting a year from January. In 1984, Dr. Rubbia shared a Nobel Prize with Dr. Simon van der Meer of the Netherlands for the discovery of three subatomic particles, the positive and negatively charged W particles and their electrically neutral cousin, the Z particle. The long-sought particles unite two of the fundamental forces of nature, the electromagnetic and the so-called weak force, which accounts for some forms of radiation.

Dr. Rubbia, an Italian, is on the faculty of Harvard University. The current director-general is Herwig Schopper, a West German.

The CERN Council also named Josef Rembser of West Germany as its president, to take office next month. Mr. Rembser is director-general of basic research and coordinator of international cooperation at the Ministry of Research and Technology in Bonn.

Pressure for a British withdrawal from the organization stemmed from a 1983 report by a committee headed by Sir John C. Kendrew, who shared a Nobel Prize in 1962 for his discovery of the molecular structure of the proteins myoglobin and hemoglobin.

That report said CERN was receiving an inordinate amount of money from Britain's Science and Engineering Research Council.

The Kendrew committee said Britain should withdraw from the organization unless its contribution was reduced by 25 percent for the 1991-92 budget.

WORLD BRIEFS

Chemical Fog Afflicts 1,000 Egyptians

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt (Reuters) — About 1,000 soldiers and civilians were taken to hospitals on Monday after an accident at an army camp released clouds of suffocating fog normally used for smokescreens, a spokesman for the Interior Ministry said.

He said that a "spontaneous interaction of a chemical powder stored in the camp" created the pall of smoke, which caused thousands to be evacuated from nearby homes. He did not specify the type of powder but said it was "used by armies as a smokescreen to camouflage movements."

The police said at least 400 soldiers were overcome by smoke and taken to hospital. Witnesses said ambulances and buses took hundreds of civilians out of the area. Schools were closed. No deaths have been reported.

Felber Named Swiss Foreign Minister

BERN — Rene Felber, 54, a Socialist, was named foreign minister of Switzerland on Monday, a government spokesman said. He was head of the finance department of the Canton of Neuchâtel until Dec. 9, he was elected to the seven-member Federal Executive.

He succeeded Pierre Aubert, who held the post for 10 years. A second newcomer to the cabinet, Adolf Ogi, was named transport minister. He succeeded Leon Schlumpf, who had held the post since 1980.

The other ministries did not change hands. The country's four largest parties have been the members of a government coalition since 1959, controlling large majorities in the 264-seat federal assembly, which combines both houses of Parliament. In the general elections last October, they won an aggregate 201 seats.

Iran Reports 1,000 Iraqi Casualties

NICOSIA (Reuters) — Iran said its forces killed or wounded 1,000 Iraqi troops on Monday in an attack on the south-central front.

The Iranian press agency, monitored in Cyprus, said the Iranians ambushed Iraqi positions on the east bank of Dairadi River in the Fakkeh area in a "victorious blitz" early Monday. It said that Iranian forces seized 12 square miles (30 square kilometers) of Iranian territory from the Iraqis and that at least 1,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded or drowned in the river when five Iraqi counterattacks were beaten back.

It was the second attack since Saturday night by Iran, which is reported to be preparing for a major offensive.

Paraguay Is Freed After 25 Years

ASUNCION, Paraguay (AP) — Napoleon Ortigosa, 63, one of Latin America's longest-held political prisoners, has been freed after serving a 25-year sentence, 18 years of which he spent in solitary confinement in a cell measuring about three feet by six feet (one meter by two meters).

The Human Rights Commission of Paraguay had long lobbied for his release, saying the former captain had been tortured and denied his civil rights. Mr. Ortigosa completed his sentence Thursday. He was released Sunday and placed under police supervision for 30 days in a small hotel in San Estanislao, a remote town northwest of Asunción.

For the Record

Britain and the Soviet Union formally agreed Monday on verification procedures for removing intermediate-range nuclear weapons from British soil under the U.S.-Soviet treaty to abolish such weapons. A similar U.S.-British agreement was signed Dec. 11.

President Major General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria dropped Foreign Minister Bola Akinyemi from his cabinet Monday in a reshuffle affecting six ministers, an official statement said. Mr. Akinyemi was replaced by Brigadier Ike Nwachukwu, who had been labor minister. The finance and national planning ministries were merged under Finance Minister Chu Okongwu.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Airline Guide Rates Fares and Service.

WASHINGTON (AP) — A guide by the Consumer Federation of America gives air travelers information ranging from comparisons on fares and airline performance to information on bar hours at major airports and how much it costs to get to the center of the city.

The guide, "How to Fly: The Consumer Federation of America's Airline Survival Guide," can be purchased for \$7.95 plus \$1 for postage and handling from the federation at 1424 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

The 203-page guide compares fares charged by 18 airlines along 17 popular routes, gives airlines a "service index" based on how many complaints are lodged with the Transportation Department, provides direct airline-to-airline fare comparisons in certain markets, and gives brief profiles of 18 carriers and 36 major airports.

Winter Running Late in Switzerland

ZURICH (AP) — Switzerland experienced a seventh straight day of unseasonably warm weather Monday. It has caused a lack of snow many winter resorts at the start of the Christmas vacation season.

Skiing was reported to be reliably possible only at stations above 6,000 feet. It was feared that at several resorts that had been expected to suffer if winter fails to arrive next week.

The Dresden airport will be closed for a year starting January reconstruction of the runway, the East German news agency Ager Monday. International and charter flights will be diverted to other German airports, primarily Leipzig, the official agency said.

An EgyptAir jetliner carrying 95 passengers made an emergency landing Monday in Accra a few minutes after taking off because fire broke in an engine, the official Ghana News Agency said. The plane was bound for Cairo by way of Lagos and Kano, Nigeria.

He said that many patients who know they are infected with the virus "feel better knowing they're doing something about it."

Mounting evidence, experts say, indicates that a substantial number, probably a majority, of people infected with the virus eventually will develop AIDS. But many have carried the virus for years without serious ill effects. Some doctors worry that premature use of AZT will deprive such patients of healthy years without providing any sure benefits.

The aggressive treatment also reflects an increasing dismay among those active in the drive against AIDS and some doctors over what they regard as the slow pace of government-sponsored research.

Others say that sound studies necessarily take time. They add that no useful scientific information will result from the wide dispensing of AZT since no data are being gathered.

AZT is the only drug on the market for the treatment of AIDS. Although it is not a cure, it does extend the lives of some AIDS patients. The federal government now is starting studies to see if the drug helps patients who are less ill than the original study group, but officials said it would be years before answers were in.

The manufacturer, the Burroughs Wellcome Co., said that more than 10,000 Americans were taking AZT but that it had no precise figures, nor any record of how many met the guidelines for the drug's use.

Dr. William Strotz, a New York City doctor who treats AIDS patients, said he gave AZT to healthy

Is There Really a Right to Exist?

If There Is, Mrs. Thatcher Tries Hard to Put a Tax on It

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

Never since the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 has an English government attempted to impose a tax on the right to exist.

But facing down the biggest revolt within her own party since she came to office in 1979, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain is plowing ahead with a deeply controversial parliamentary bill to impose a flat-rate head tax on every man and woman in the land, irrespective of how much they earn or even if they earn nothing at all.

Even Adam Smith, the 18th-century Scottish economist who is the patron saint of Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative Party, could never see the sense in such a measure. He argued that citizens should pay taxes "in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of state," and said that a "capitation tax" as he called it, would be both regressive and unworkable.

This is essentially the argument made by opponents of Mrs. Thatcher's plan to introduce a "community charge" for every person above the age of 18 to pay for services provided by local government, such as police, schools, civic amenities, social services, road upkeep and street lighting.

At present, financing for such services is raised by a tax on property known as rates, which Mrs. Thatcher has long promised to abolish.

Mrs. Thatcher portrays herself as a thrifty housewife whose attempts to save the taxpayers' money are constantly being thwarted by free-spending local authorities, as often as not controlled by Socialists opposed to her policies.

Her government argues that a community charge on every adult would make the local government more accountable to the people who elect them. At the moment, the £6 billion rates bill falls on only half the 36 million registered voters in England in Wales, of whom one in three pay at a reduced level because of limited incomes. In theory, those who pay no local taxes at all

under the present system have no incentive to make sure that city and county governments put a lid on spending.

Few argue that the present rating system does not need reforming. Identical houses are taxed the same, even though one may be occupied by a pensioner struggling to get by and the other by several adults earning good salaries.

Michael Heseltine, a former Conservative minister, said that if the head tax becomes law, it would become known as "the Tory tax."

But critics argue that the proposed community charge, due to come into effect April 1, 1990, is even more unfair. Ian Gilmour, a former government minister, said in a stormy House of Commons session recently that voters "do not see why those in very nice houses on large incomes should pay exactly the same as those living in less nice houses."

Michael Heseltine, another former Conservative minister, said the charge would become known as "the Tory tax."

He said it was inconsistent with the government's aim of protecting the family, since it would drive people away from home at the age of 18 and force people to put aging parents into homes where they would not be liable to pay the tax.

Critics say tax evasion on a massive scale is inevitable in view of the widely perceived view that a flat tax would be particularly unfair on those least able to pay. The government replies that special arrangements will be made for people with low incomes.

But the general intention is to spread the tax net as wide as possible, with as few exemptions as possible.

The charge will fall equally on the millionaire, the housewife earning nothing or an 18-year old venturing into a first job.

"No lobby, no tax expert, no academic researcher, no foreign government, no book, no learned paper can be cited in its support," said Simon Jenkins, a commentator in The Sunday Times, who said Mrs. Thatcher wants to bring the urban poor into voting local Labor governments out of office.

The reaction from local authorities themselves "is not very enthusiastic," said Toby Sargent, a spokesman for the Department of the Environment, the ministry sponsoring the community charge.

The amount of the tax will vary from region to region, depending on the level of local government spending. The government estimates that if the community charge were in effect today, the average tax in England and Wales would be £220 (\$396) per person each year, ranging from a low of £96 in the Scilly Isles to £782 in Camden, a district of central London.

Once the new system goes into effect, businesses will continue to be assessed rates on property value, but will pay their taxes directly to the government rather than to the local authorities as at present. Business property will be revalued in 1989, after which the government pledges that business rates will not increase by more than the rate of inflation. In districts where businesses are heavily taxed by left-leaning authorities, rates could come down by 40 percent or more, Mr. Sargent said.

The money raised from business property taxes will be recycled to the regions on the basis of population. In addition, the government will continue to pay about half of local government costs directly out of national taxation.

In all, the amount raised by the community charge is expected to be about the same as the £6 billion collected by the present domestic property taxes.

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Ibrahim Mohammed Khaled inside a steel cage at his trial.

Gunman Refuses to Attend Trial for Rome Airport Raid

ROME — The only survivor of the Palestinian guerrilla squad that attacked Leonardo da Vinci Airport near Rome two years ago refused Monday to attend his trial, saying he was waiting to die.

Ibrahim Mohammed Khaled, 20, described the Dec. 27, 1985 attack, which left 16 dead and 89 injured, as an "unpardonable disaster" and "an action full of horror."

In a statement, he called on the Palestinians and Israelis to "put down their damned arms."

Mr. Khaled's absence could hurt the efforts of prosecutors to shed new light on the inner workings of the Abu Nidal group, which planned the Rome attack and an

attack the same day at the Vienna airport. Abu Nidal, the nom de guerre of Sabri el-Banna, and his lieutenant, Rashid al-Hamieda, were being tried in absentia. The three are charged with conducting a massacre.

Mr. Khaled was wounded and his three companions killed in a gunbattle with Israeli security agents when the commando attacked a crowd of travelers waiting to check in for El Al and Trans World Airlines flights. His appearance in court would only cause further pain to relatives of the victims.

Mr. Khaled said in the statement, read by his lawyer, Epifanio Ales. "I don't expect anything more from life," he said, adding, "I want my death to arrive as soon as possible."

Doctors Split Over Early Use of AZT to Treat AIDS

By Gina Kolara
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Defying official recommendations, a growing number of U.S. doctors who treat carriers of the AIDS virus are prescribing a powerful, potentially toxic

drug even before the patients develop serious signs of disease.

The drug is azidothymidine, or AZT. It is licensed by the Food and Drug Administration only for certain patients with the disease or those who show some disease symptoms and whose immune systems are seriously damaged, groups in which the benefits of AZT have been established. But once a drug is approved, doctors may legally prescribe it to any patient.

More than a dozen AIDS physicians and health authorities interviewed said the practice of prescribing AZT to patients without symptoms had become widespread in recent months, as the drug, once scarce, became readily available.

The practice has split the U.S. medical community. While some

doctors supported it as a compassionate response to an unusual threat, others were deeply alarmed, saying they could not recall another case when a drug with such toxic potential had been so widely prescribed for a condition other than that specified by the Food and Drug Administration.

"I don't think there was ever before a situation like this in medicine," said Dr. Izhak Brook of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda, Maryland. "This is just what I was afraid of."

Dr. Brook was chairman of a Food and Drug Administration advisory committee that evaluated AZT.

Experts who, like Dr. Brook, are worried about the trend say that for relatively healthy patients there is no proof that AZT will provide benefits that outweigh the substantial risks. Those risks include the

suppression of bone marrow, which can cause severe anemia and make patients vulnerable to life-threatening infections.

[AZT also is widely used in Europe to treat carriers of the virus, European health officials said.]

A spokeswoman for the Pasteur Institute in Paris, a leading AIDS research center, said French specialists increasingly are inclined to prescribe AZT at soon as blood tests lead them to suspect that a carrier of the virus is likely to develop the disease.

[A fall in the number of T4 lymphocytes cells in the patient's blood or a positive result to antigen tests, the spokeswoman said, is considered sufficient justification to prescribe AZT, even if the patient is not showing physical symptoms of AIDS. T4 lymphocyte cells are involved in the body's defense against viruses and its rejection of foreign tissue. A lowered count indicates that the body's immune system is breaking down.]

But even the staunchest critics are sympathetic to the plight of frightened patients and their doctors. Some doctors find it impossible to refrain from using the drug, knowing that it may be only a matter of time until a patient's immune system falters and more and the symptoms of acquired immune deficiency syndrome develop.

"I'm very wary" of giving the drug to symptomless carriers of the AIDS virus, said Dr. Jeffrey Laurence of the Cornell University School of Medicine. "But there are a lot of scared people out there."

Dr. William Strotz, a New York City doctor who treats AIDS patients, said he gave AZT to healthy

virus carriers when they wanted it. He said that many patients who know they are infected with the virus "feel better knowing they're doing something about it."

Mounting evidence, experts say, indicates that a substantial number, probably a majority, of people infected with the virus eventually will develop AIDS. But many have carried the virus for years without serious ill effects. Some doctors worry that premature use of AZT will deprive such patients of healthy years without providing any sure benefits.

The aggressive treatment also reflects an increasing dismay among those active in the drive against AIDS and some doctors over what they regard as the slow pace of government-sponsored research.

Others say that sound studies necessarily take time. They add that no useful scientific information will result from the wide dispensing of AZT since no data are being gathered.

AZT is the only drug on the market for the treatment of AIDS. Although it is not a cure, it does extend the lives of some AIDS patients. The federal government now is starting studies to see if the drug helps patients who are less ill than the original study group, but officials said it would be years before answers were in.

The manufacturer, the Burroughs Wellcome Co., said that more than 10,000 Americans were taking AZT but that it had no precise figures, nor any record of how many met the guidelines for the drug's use.

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Soviet Jew to Get Exit Visa

MOSCOW — Alexander Lerner, a Jewish scientist who has been refused permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union for almost 17 years, said Monday that he had been given permission to leave with members of his family.

The Associated Press

THE AMERICAN CATHEDRAL (Episcopal-Anglican). Christmas Eve Holy Eucharist 10:30 a.m. Christmas Day Holy Eucharist 11 a.m. 23 Avenue George V, Paris 8. Tel.: 47 20 17 92.

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Sandinists Try to Repel Contras in Mining Area

MANAGUA — The rebels fighting Nicaragua's Sandinist government claimed major gains Monday in a drive into a remote mining region three days before a truce was scheduled to start, but the Defense Ministry said most of the casualties were civilians.

Contra spokesmen claimed at least 100 Sandinist casualties, without specifying the number killed. They said nothing about rebel casualties.

The ministry said 23 government soldiers and 24 rebels were killed in fighting in three mining towns near the Honduran border. It said that the situation had returned to normal in the towns of Rosita and Sinuá but that fighting continued in the town of Bonanza.

The rebels, known as the contras, said 7,000 of their troops captured the towns Sunday, overrunning an army barracks and destroying military installations.

The mining region has become increasingly important for the government, which is trying to bolster the declining economy.

The country will export an estimated \$23 million in gold this year and hopes to increase that figure to \$35 million in 1988.

The ministry said a surface-to-air missile fired by the U.S.-supplied rebels hit a cargo plane of the state-owned airline Aerolinea, wounding four crew members.

The Managua-Panama plane made an emergency landing at a farm in northeastern Costa Rica.

An investigation was begun, the Costa Rican Public Security Ministry said. There were unconfirmed reports that mechanical trouble forced the plane down.

Despite the offensive, high-level representatives of the contras and the government gathered for a second time in Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic, to discuss a cease-fire.

Both sides have accepted a truce proposed for Thursday and Friday by the mediator in the talks, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua.

The fighting began before dawn Sunday in the gold- and silver-mining area in the north near the Caribbean coast.

A brief government report Monday said 53 civilians were wounded in the village of Sinuá. It said rebels blew up a gasoline storage tank there.

The report said fighting continued in Bonanza but all was "under complete control" in Sinuá and Rosita.

The offensive was said to be the largest yet by the contras.

President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua said Monday morning in the National Assembly, "They continue fighting in the zone."

A contra spokesman in Miami, Jorge Rosales, said that he believed the fighting was still going on Monday but that no reports had been received since Sunday.

The offensive shows the contras to be "a force in Nicaragua that has to be taken into consideration," Mr. Rosales said.

The Sandinists charged that the rebel offensive was a bid for publicity in an effort to influence debate in the U.S. Congress on renewing their funding.

An agreement was reached Sunday between Congress and the White House that would give the rebels \$8.1 million in nonmilitary aid through the end of February.

The Reagan administration described the offensive as "very encouraging" and "very helpful." The chief White House spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, said of the rebels, "They remain a strong fighting force."

Mr. Ortega said that "if the American Congress approves new necessary funds" for the rebels, "it will be making a mockery of the sovereignty of the Central American presidents." The region's five presidents signed a peace plan in August.

Two Get 15 Days For KGB Protest

MOSCOW — Two women dissidents each were jailed for 15 days on Monday for protesting to stage a protest outside the Leningrad headquarters of the KGB security police, a Moscow sympathizer said.

Yevgeniya Debyanskaya told reporters by telephone that the Leningrad pair, members of a dissident committee for East-West trust, were arrested on Sunday and charged with an offense against public order.

She said that the two, Olga Kovalevskaya and Yekaterina Podolskaya, had briefly held up banners calling for the release of political prisoners and for a cut of 50 percent in staff employed by the KGB.

A similar demonstration in Moscow on Saturday resulted in no arrests.

U.S. Asks Pretoria to Spare 6

JOHANNESBURG — The United States appealed Monday to South Africa to spare the lives of six blacks, five men and one woman, who have been sentenced to hang for burning a black official to death in a "necklace" killing, with a gasoline-soaked tire, during anti-apartheid riots in 1984.



ON THE SEVENTH DAY THEY WORKED — Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the House speaker, listens to Representative Tony Coelho, Democrat of California, over lunch at a special congressional session Sunday. The legislators passed a stopgap spending measure to keep the government operating until Congress votes on a spending bill.

Collegians Toast New Drinking Law

Effort on Drunkenness Seems to Have Opposite Effect

By Nick Ravo

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — New state laws making 21 the legal drinking age, intended to combat drunken driving among young Americans, are having little effect on cutting down on drinking among college students, according to a survey of recent studies and interviews with university officials and students.

They also say the laws may be resulting in more undergratuates driving while intoxicated because stiffer college regulations are leading more students to drink off campus at fraternity houses, social clubs or local bars, where school officials have little or no jurisdiction.

The officials note, too, that many underage students are drinking secretly, and often more recklessly, in their dormitory rooms, where school officials seldom intrude.

This secret drinking has become a growing concern because of a dangerous practice that Robert Gringle, a Duke University health services official, calls "front loading."

It entails students drinking large quantities of alcohol in a short period of time before going to an event where they will not be served. In one incident, three Yale students were hospitalized this year after arriving intoxicated at a school-sponsored Halloween dance.

In the last five years, under the threat of losing federal transportation funds, the District of Columbia and 15 states raised their legal drinking ages to 21, bringing to 48 the number of states with such laws. South Dakota will enact it next year, but legislators in Wyoming have repeatedly defeated such proposals.

School officials note that it is also difficult to stop underage students from drinking on campus because of a lack of identification cards and an abundance of upperclassmen who can legally buy alcoholic beverages.

Although the state laws are believed to have had an effect on drinking among all people 16 to 21, their effect strictly among college students has been negligible, in some ways, detrimental, according to the first studies available.

In a 1983 nationwide survey of about 4,200 students at public and private colleges and universities, 21 percent said they had six or more drinks at least once a week. The figure remained the same in 1985, and preliminary information from a survey this year shows similar figures.

At Texas A&M University, a study of 300 students showed that when the Texas drinking age rose to 21 last year, the average number of times they became intoxicated in a semester changed only from 7.1 to 7.0.

Yale is one of many schools that allow drinking on campus by students 21 and older. It serves students at university functions if they have proper identification.

Other schools, though, such as the University of Missouri at Columbia, take a different tack, banning beer kegs and all other alcoholic beverages. They are "dry" colleges, meaning that no alcohol is allowed on campus by anyone.

"I think the trend is going toward dry campuses," said Kim Dude, assistant director of residential life policies at Missouri. "Otherwise, you're in a compromising position, and the liability for serving an underage drinker is phenomenal."

Last year, a 19-year-old Yale student died after drinking large quantities of tequila in a dormitory room.

Yale officials defend their decision not to police residence halls, saying it would be impractical and an invasion of privacy.

Betty Trachtenberg, dean of student affairs at Yale University, said that Yale usually did not punish students found illegally drinking on campus for fear that it would inhibit help for students who may become severely intoxicated.

"You don't want a student to die because another student is afraid to call the police," she said.

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The greatest hurdle was overcome when White House and congressional negotiators agreed on a compromise that would give \$8.1 million in aid to the rebels, known as contras. The compromise sets up a possible showdown vote on U.S. policy toward the contras in early February.

Democratic leaders conceded that the inclusion of contra aid in the spending bill would cost the votes of about 100 liberals who oppose helping the rebels while the Central American peace process is under way.

"We took a pig and dressed it up in a tuxedo, but it's still a pig," said Representative Robert J. Mrazek, Democrat of New York, who opposed the compromise.

"I think great progress has been made," Mr. Reagan said Monday at a meeting with Republican congressional leaders. He said he hoped that Congress could have a budget package "down here that I can sign so we can all go home for Christmas."

Earlier, Mr. Reagan's budget director, James C. Miller 3d, said the weekend wrangling between congressional and administration negotiators was "no way to run a government."

He said states "put budgets together but they don't have the same kind of brinkmanship and falling apart that we have here in the federal government."

Mr. Miller, interviewed Monday on a morning television news program, said the spending bill, has "everything rolled together" and runs about 1,400 pages.

Barring last-minute disputes, both the House and the Senate planned to vote Monday on the bill, which provides \$600 billion for federal agencies to operate in the fiscal year that began Oct. 1, and on an accompanying measure that cuts \$22.6 billion from this year's deficit.

In an unusual Sunday session, legislators sent Mr. Reagan a measure extending the government's spending authority until 12:01 A.M. Tuesday. That authority had expired Saturday and without an extension federal agencies would have been shut Monday.

Passage of both bills would send Congress home for its monthlong Christmas recess. It also would put into action the agreement Mr. Reagan and congressional leaders

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The biggest obstacle for the spending measure was cleared Sunday evening, when administration and congressional negotiators reached agreement on the "nonlethal" aid to the contras, providing \$8.1 million in aid through February. The president had threatened to veto the entire bill if lawmakers omitted the aid.

The accord also would allow the president to submit a request to Congress for additional aid, including weapons, to the rebels. The request would be put to a congressional vote on Feb. 4.

Balance Sought in Plan

The contra aid proposal is intended to balance the president's demand for more aid with the strong opposition, especially among House Democrats, to helping the contras while Central American leaders are trying to implement the regional peace agreement they signed in Guatemala in August. The New York Times reported from Washington.

The issue is complicated by the political difficulty of many modern

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Conservatives are not entirely happy with the accord either. Senator Ted Stevens, Republican of Alaska, said that by agreeing to vote again in February on whether to continue the aid, "we are playing Russian roulette with the contras' future."

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South Korean Suspicions Epitomized in Episode Of the Ballot-Box Battle

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

SEOUL — For many suspicious South Koreans, the Battle of Kuro will long linger as the prime example of the presidential election last week was stolen by the government.

There is certainly hard evidence and credible anecdotal material to conclude that a disturbing amount of ballot-switching, vote-buying and coercion occurred on election day. But no one has come up with proof that the irregularities were so epidemic as to undermine the government victory or to absolve the opposition from blame for having split apart.

Even though most South Koreans seem to accept the election of Roh Tae Woo, others are withholding judgment. For them, the Battle of Kuro looms large. It also encapsulates the suspicions and rumors — the basic mistrust — that form a large part of daily Korean life.

There is a working-class district in southern Seoul, presumably a stronghold of the opposition figure Kim Dae Jung.

While voting was under way Wednesday, people at the local ward office discovered an official leaving in an unofficial-looking truck. It had a ballot box in the back, and the box was covered with food packages, as if to hide it.

All he was doing, the official said, was carrying absentee ballots to a central counting center. But to many other Koreans, his behavior was suspicious, and anti-government crowds quickly surrounded the ballot box.

There ensued a 45-hour siege of the ward-office compound that ended in a brutal battle between the police and dissidents. Rumors abound that protesters were killed, but no one has yet produced any names, let alone bodies.

Meanwhile, the ballot box in question, and two more found inside the building, were taken away. According to one account, they are in storage somewhere. Another version is that the ballots were burned.

There is not a clear fact in the entire story. But in rumor-driven South Korea, many people suspect that the government had something to hide and that questions raised by the Kuro incident may point to a broader pattern of ballot-box fraud.

It is the sort of episode likely to nip at Mr. Roh as he tries to establish his legitimacy after having won one-third of the vote.

Three nights before the election, the state-owned television network broadcast "The Killing Fields," a movie about the devastation that followed the Communist takeover of Cambodia in 1975. Two nights before that, there was a program on North Korea that showed a drab, uniform, goose-stepping society.

The programming is another situation that cannot be fully deciphered, but many Koreans say they are convinced the broadcasts were timed to remind voters graphically of the importance of national security and anti-Communism. The

message was almost certainly a boon for Mr. Roh.

For similar reasons, suspicions were raised when a mysterious woman was brought from Bahrain to Seoul for questioning in the disappearance last month of a South Korean airliner. The South Korean government says it believes that a time bomb exploded on the plane as it flew over the Thai-Burmese border and that North Korea was probably behind it.

The woman, known only by the fictitious name of Mayumi Hachiyu, tried to kill herself upon her capture in Bahrain by biting into a cyanide capsule. Her partner, an older man, succeeded.

It struck some South Koreans as too coincidental that she was extradited from Bahrain and brought to Seoul the day before the election. For many, their last televised image before heading to the polls was this possible agent of North Korea. How much it affected their vote, of course, cannot be said.

GAZA: Having Grown Up Under Israeli Rule, the 'Shebab' Are Lashing Out

(Continued from Page 1)

mentalist, taking part in a growing Islamic trend in Gaza.

He was shot three times, once in the head, as he came out of the local mosque with hundreds of others after Friday prayers on Friday shouting "God is Great!" and Palestinian slogans at Israeli soldiers, who fired first tear gas, then bullets.

The "martyr" held for him was an Arab tradition of gathering to comfort the family of the dead. A cloth had been stretched overhead to form a kind of tent, from which Palestinian flags and quotations from the Koran hung. The voices of the young men turned angry, and they shouted their defiance of the Israelis.

"I will be killed fighting them, and my brother and my sister," a young man said. "We will struggle, as you see, we will struggle with stones and by killing ourselves."

The dead man's mother, Zahiya, 47 years old, came from a village near what is now Ashkelon, during the fighting that secured the independence of Israel in 1948. His wife of four years, Dalal, who is pregnant, pulled her black Islamic shawl closer as she held the baby.

The mother was asked if she would let her remaining sons join the demonstrators.

"As long as I am alive, I am going to teach the young people to fight until we have a solution," she said. "We want to live in peace, and we want the Jews out of our land. I don't care whatever happens as long as we get our land."

By taking to the streets, the young men have shaken up Palestinians at the same time that they have challenged their Israeli rulers, pushing aside the influence of traditional local notables and the absence of Palestinian Liberation Organization, which has been scrambling to keep up.

The sources of the anger in Gaza have been charted — then ignored — in numerous studies and reports.

Once a rural orange-growing center and caravan stop, Gaza came under the British Mandate in Palestine when the Ottoman Empire was broken up at the end of World War I. Egyptian troops took control in the 1948 fighting. The period of Egyptian rule is not remembered fondly in Gaza either.

Israel took over when it won the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. Today, Gaza, less prosperous than the occupied West Bank, is a place that Egypt does not want back.

Unlike the Palestinians on the West Bank, who hold Jordanian citizenship and passports, Gaza residents are officially stateless and can only obtain, with difficulty, special refugee travel documents from Egypt. Even travel to Egypt is a problem.

The Gaza Strip is home to 650,000 Palestinians, roughly three-quarters of whom are considered refugees. No longer bucolic, it is now about 85 percent urban, and most of it is crisscrossed by slums and other substandard housing. The population density is among the world's highest.

In recent years, Gaza has also become home for some 2,500 Israeli settlers, most of them from ideological religious movements. Although the settlers comprise only 0.4 percent of Gaza's population, they occupy 8 percent of its land. Their presence has greatly increased the tension.

The Gaza Strip provides a vast pool of cheap labor for Israel, leading the Israeli writer Amos Elon to describe it as the "Soviet of the state of Israel."

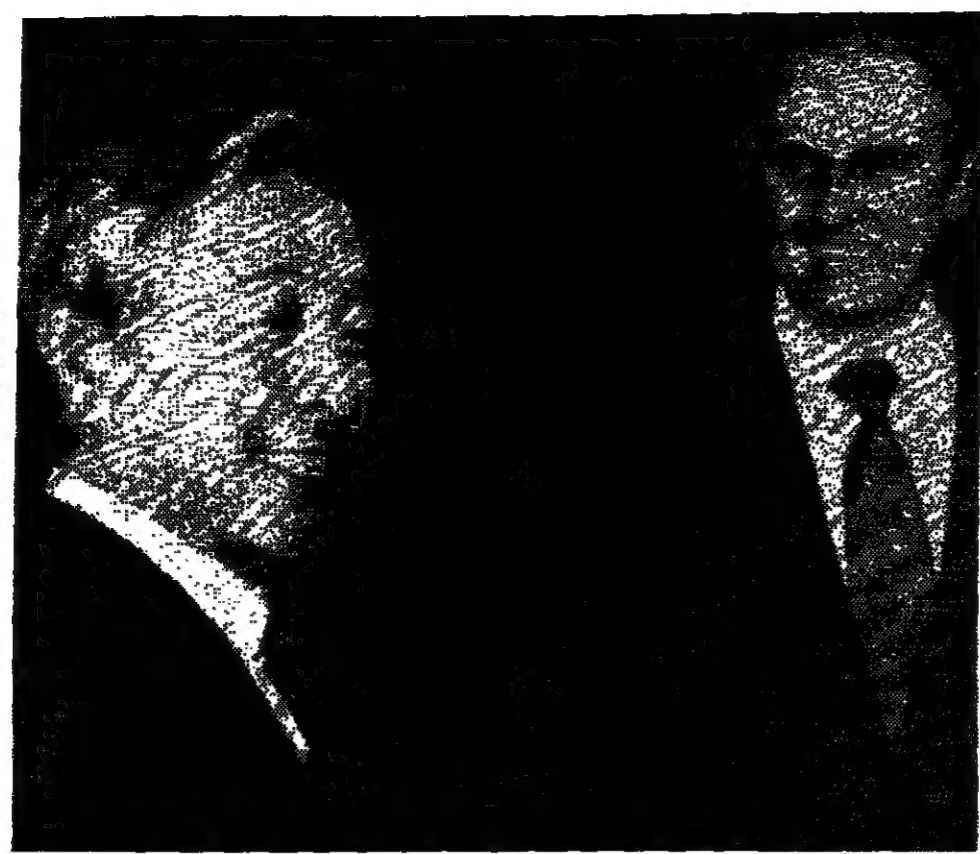
The official Israeli estimate is that about 45,000 workers a day, or roughly half the territory's labor force, commute daily to mostly menial jobs in Israel. As many as 15,000 others are believed to work in Israel at jobs that are unrecorded or technically illegal.

Because the workers from Gaza in Israel pay more in taxes than the \$17.5 million the Israeli government contributes to the area's budget, and because much of the consumer goods in Gaza must be purchased in Israel, a 1986 study of Gaza by the West Bank Data Base Project concluded:

"It becomes apparent that the occupation is not only self-perpetuating but in fact may be profit-making."

The study group, headed by Mervin Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, has strongly criticized Israeli policies in the occupied territories.

Its report on the Gaza Strip described "catastrophic" health conditions, falling citrus production because of Israeli limits on exports to Europe, dramatically declining fish catches because of security limits on the fleet, stagnant industry, overcrowded and deteriorating schools and declining resources of fresh water.



Kim Young Sam meeting the U.S. ambassador, James Roderick Lilley, to discuss the vote.

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In Angola, a Little-Noticed War

This Year, South Africa's Involvement Draws More Outcry

By James Brooke
New York Times Service

XANGONGO, Angola — Standing among stacks of wooden ammunition crates, Sergeant Antonio Francisco da Silva offered tips for shooting down South African war planes.

"They try to come in under our radar, so we fire low, force them up and then shoot them down," said the 28-year-old Angolan sergeant, who helps run an anti-aircraft battery credited by regional military authorities with having downed four South African jets since September.

In a remote, rarely reported war, soldiers of this black-ruled African nation are locked in direct combat with invading soldiers from South Africa.

Xangongo, the southernmost town in Angolan government hands, is now ringed by chest-deep trenches dug in the sandy soil. Once a regional cattle-trading center, Xangongo is now a garrison town. Many houses stand empty, abandoned after South African bombs crashed through the orange tile roofs.

South African commandos frequently mine the main road leading to safer zones north of Xangongo, Angolan military authorities say. The hulks of vehicles rusing by the roadside bear witness to the mines.

The intrusion of modern war on the huge African savannah is often jarring. A group of women from the Cuanhama tribe lingered in the shade of a giant baobab tree, watching a Soviet-made personnel carrier on patrol. On top, an Angolan soldier scanned the horizon, fingering a portable SAM-3 anti-aircraft missile.

Some of the Angolan soldiers, many of them teen-age draftees, are billeted in buildings that once served as quarters for South African troops during an occupation in 1983 and 1984. The walls still bear the graffiti from the South Africans — a stenciled picture of a man on a camel saying "52nd — Camels In" and "The Army Lives Forever."

Since 1975, the year of Angola's independence, South Africa has repeatedly invaded southern Angola. Ostensibly hunting the guerrillas who seek independence for the neighboring territory of South-West Africa, the South Africans have killed thousands of Angolans and have destroyed millions of dollars worth of bridges, buildings and factories, Angolan officials say.

Last week, about 3,000 South African soldiers were camped in southern Angola and 10,000 more were massed in three bases a few miles across the border in South-West Africa, or Namibia, according to the regional military commander, Lieutenant Colonel Luis Pereira Faria. Namibia is administered by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

This year, South Africa's intervention in Angola has been heavier and has attracted more outcry than usual.

For the first time in a decade, South African officials admitted last month to sending soldiers to fight alongside Jonas Savimbi's rebel group, the Union for the Total Independence for Angola, or UNITA. South Africa and the United States supply this rebel army, which has its base of strength in southeastern Angola, 500 miles east of Xangongo.

South Africa's involvement was highlighted by a visit its president, P.W. Botha, made to the rebel-controlled zone of Angola last month.

In addition to searching for Namibian guerrillas, South Africa cites other reasons for invading Angola.

About 10,000 South African refugees live in Angola, largely in camps run by the African National Congress, the South African rebel group.

According to Western diplomats in Luanda, 1,500 guerrillas from the African National Congress started getting battlefield military experience in Angola this year. They patrol northern Angola's Zaire and Uige provinces, hunting for UNITA guerrillas, the diplomats say.

South Africa says it also intervenes in Angola to fight the 37,000 Cuban troops who support Luanda's Marxist government. South Africa says that if Namibia is granted independence, the Cubans will move south, establishing a threatening presence on South Africa's western border.

South Africa routinely portrays its attacks on Angola as battles against Cuban troops and Soviet advisers. But Western diplomats in Luanda say this picture is false. They say that in recent years the Cubans and Russians have played a rear-guard, supportive role, behind the Angolan Army.

In a policy reversal on Dec. 10, Angola's president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, said that, in response to South Africa's occupation of southern parts of his country, he was authorizing the Cubans to start patrolling down to Angola's border with Namibia and to engage the South Africans in combat.

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KIM: Loser Apologizes

(Continued from Page 1)

week in a statement that went on to place most of the blame on Kim Dae Jung. The two longtime opposition leaders have not spoken to each other since their loss.

Small demonstrations against the election results continued Monday in several cities, mostly in Cholla. Kim Dae Jung's home province. In the provincial capital of Kwangju, a few students tried to throw firebombs at the U.S. Information Service office. Policemen chased them away. There was no damage.

Kim Dae Jung partisans in Kwangju have attacked Americans for what they see as pro-Roh bias in the U.S. government and press.

ARTS / LEISURE

Basel Show Is Abstract, With Twist

Robert Einbeck Gets Religion

By Michael Gibson
International Herald Tribune

BASEL, Switzerland — The work that has provoked the strongest reaction in Robert Einbeck's show here is a canvas to which he has affixed a crown of thorns.

The show, filled with paintings done in the sensitive and highly polished abstract idiom characteristic of the painter, was devoted to Christian symbols: cross, star, trinitarian triangle and so on, but for some reason it was the three-dimensional crown that caught everyone's attention and caused some distress among critics of all persuasions. This rather pleased Einbeck. In his view, the reaction shows that "a traditional cultural content is, in fact, much more present in people's psyches than one actually imagines."

Einbeck, 43, has been showing works marked by his concern with serenity, meditation and a contemplative attitude in Paris galleries for a number of years. In the past, however, the works were entirely abstract. The artist's preoccupations were voiced only by form, color relationships and the extremely controlled ordering of the painting. Whatever else one may think of his work or ideas, Einbeck is a highly gifted draftsman. He knows how to arrange a painted surface in a way that allows even the most abstract of forms to convey a message. The addition of explicitly religious symbols is new,



One of Einbeck's crosses: "A traditional cultural content in people's psyches."

and it raises interesting questions about the possibility of doing this sort of thing in art today.

Einbeck is surprised that one should query his use of religious symbols. "After all," he points out, "Alain Kirili makes crucifixes and Jeanos sculptures for a Romanesque church, and everyone thinks it's great. So why shouldn't I paint crosses or display a crown of thorns?" To this one might retort that Kirili and Jeanos are Jewish, which somehow transposes their relationship to Christian symbols onto a neutral, secular ground — although the viewer is free to carry it back to the religious domain.

Also, in each case, there is a specific formal problem that serves as a material counterpoint to the content: Kirili applies his technique of bending iron to the traditional form of the cross, Jeanos seeks to blend his present-day idiom into the Romanesque background for which the work was commissioned. In the same way, non-believers such as Chagall or Matisse produced works that successfully functioned as works of art in an explicitly Christian context. And, of course,

the pure abstractions of the self-proclaimed atheist Mark Rothko are quite appropriate to the non-denominational chapel designed for them in Houston and radiate a form of serenity similar to the one Einbeck wants to foster.

Nevertheless, because the societies of the industrial world are predominantly secular — as societies dominated by religious subjects, or with a domain of sensibility that at one time was considered religious, is obliged to do some complicated footwork if his work is to be regarded as relevant outside his own creed. The straightforward statement of belief can be felt to be naive, not because it expresses a religious conviction but because it fails to take into account the complicated semantics that the present situation imposes.

Einbeck and his wife, Marion, however, are inclined to let it be known that they are fervent Catholics and they occasionally express their convictions by recourse to improvised ritual that can be embarrassing to some. At the opening of the show, the Einbecks asked everyone to join hands and observe

one minute's silence "for peace in the world." One can hardly take exception to the idea, but a few people looked around for an exit. They found none and ultimately everyone held hands dutifully until the minute was over. Everyone also seemed to agree that it was a handsome show and that the artist has a singular and effective idiom.

His concern with harmony and serenity has led him to some unexpected ventures such as the experiments conducted, at his instigation, with a team of doctors in Paris to determine the impact of three colors on the heartbeat of people exposed to them. These experiments revealed distinct patterns of physiological response to the three colors (red, green and blue). The Einbecks were surprised to discover that blue tended to provoke anxiety and an accelerated heart-rate. The next set of tests, still in the planning stage, will consist of experiments to observe brainwave patterns associated with specific colors.

Robert Einbeck, Marion Mainetti
Gallery, Elisabethstrasse 56, Basel,
to Dec. 31.

Small Talk At Big Parties

International Herald Tribune
AS THE party season slips into top gear, a pocket-size book has come out that can give stay-at-homes the rusty feeling of having been out all night and wallflowers the illusion of having had a good chat. Take, for instance:

Alan, I'm not awfully certain I like you.

You are going to have dinner with me. This I do insist.

I'd like a glass with a little piece of lemon in it, some tonic, some Gordon's and some ice.

Don't flinch all the time I'm talking to you.

These snatches have been overheard by London's most gifted eavesdropper, Andrew Barrow, and collected in "The Great Book

with other human beings and then brooding about what they were saying all the time. I brooded over these remarks, some of which at the time hurt me. Once one's put them in a book like this, they're funny, really."

Some are funny, some turgid, some surreal: "I've had every inch of my face complimented. Even my mole." It's not a joke book: Barrow finds it sad in part. His collage of non sequiturs, divided into Party Talk, Office Talk and Pub Talk, has a particular earnestness, as in this Party Talk sequence:

Let's just say I have a clinical interest in you.

Let's have another drink.

No, my dear, honestly, I'm perfect. Really I'm fine.

Do you still live in Mayfair? Well I do and I don't.

The moment I got into her flat I knew I was home and dry.

Why are smiling in that mad way?

I'm looking forward to it no end. They now think it's a pinched nerve.

"It's not all cliché, some of the stuff is absolutely specific, it's a mixture, isn't it?" Barrow says.

"It's as wide as life itself in a way."

Barrow is a mildly eccentric social lepidopterist whose previous books include a selection from English gossip columns from 1920-70 and a gossip history of the Anglican Church. Snatches of his small-talk collection were first published in Punch in 1971. Trivia is his passion — "I myself am completely trivial: I have never been able to draw conclusions," he has said — and his specialty is the marginalia of social history. His interest in trivia is extremely serious.

"All my books are serious; this one has been taken seriously by one or two people. This book is a breakthrough for me in the sense it's the first time I've done a book which doesn't have a famous name in it."

The book has no names in it at all. "I love the idea of imposing order on chaos, collecting a chaotic number of fragments of little remarks and noting them down."

No one, to Barrow's knowledge, has ever eavesdropped on him. "I don't think I'm that interesting a talker; I'm too self-conscious probably. All these people are pretty self-conscious, aren't they? You'd have to stop if you thought anyone was listening."

London eavesdropping is the



"You are going to have dinner with me. This I do insist."

best in the world. Party talk, Barrow says, is a wide mixture. "Some of it is very confidential and the other's absolutely platitudinous and idiotic." The Office Talk section, someone told him, begins gently and then becomes ferociously unpleasant. Pub talk is the easiest. "In London you hear people talking about their private lives in pubs in extremely loud voices; you can't help listening to it. There's also a lot of saloon-bar philosophy — things like 'God is good. He always gives you a little bit of something to go on'."

He is using his eavesdropping technique for his first novel. "It's got a lot of dialogue in it, but it's family talk. It's a very autobiographical novel about my relationship with my father who was a great character as far as I was concerned and quite a mixed-up person but a very good talker, so I've got a lot of quotes."

The technique may not work for fiction, though. "I remember showing some of my family conversation to a publisher a while back and he said, 'This is the sort of thing people read books to get away from.'"



THE FIRST NAPOLEON MALT WHISKY.

The Glenlivet dynasty can be traced back to the eighteenth century when M. Bonaparte's rule began. Today, Scotland's first malt whisky is also first choice in Paris.

Scotland's first malt whisky.

DOONESBURY



The Russian city Volgograd, some 90 miles south west of Volgograd (the old Stalingrad) between the Caspian and Black Sea, had something of a problem. The sewers needed to be completely renovated. But that would mean total confusion in the city centre. What's more, some of the underground areas had become completely inaccessible.

In the Dutch city of Delft, a company called Zegwaard had an idea: Sewer renovation without breaking open streets or ploughing up parks. By recovering the walls of the pipes. On the inside. Technically possible, too. But where on earth do you find a material that is pliable, which hardens at relatively low temperatures, and which is resistant to chemicals, changes of temperature, pressure, impact, and torsion?

In another Dutch city, Heerlen, one of Europe's largest chemical concerns started working on a solution. Some of the 1500 research specialists and scientists at DSM developed a special resin which was ideal for a unique method of renovating sewers and pipes. A durable layer was applied to the inside of the pipes in the form of a sheath. High quality polyester, epoxy, and polyurethane resins have also been developed for a wide range of other applications.



If we don't have a solution, we find one.

The sewers in Russia have been redecorated.

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Good News From Japan

Comfort and joy are sparse this Christmas for people who worry about incomes, jobs or international debt. Most Northern countries risk seeing a mediocre 1987 followed by a disappointing 1988, and this will rub off on the poorer South. But the horizon shows a bright star in the East. Japan's economy is performing well by international standards.

On Sept. 5 in this space we were skeptical of Japanese assertions about renewed economic growth. Sluggish trends early in the year seemed unlikely to be changed by limited government efforts to lift the economy; at best, Tokyo could get the benefit of the doubt. Recent events dispel some of the doubt in favor of the benefits.

Japan is showing a GNP growth clearly above that of any other major economy. And what is supporting this buoyant activity is no longer a growing export surplus but a boom in domestic demand, which is just what the doctors have been prescribing for years. It made little sense for Japan or its partners, to perpetuate the process whereby the economy grew only because it was selling more and more goods to the outside world and restraining the rise of its own living standard. The change is late but welcome.

One factor pushing up spending is the effect of past excessive success in the world export league. The yen has been forced up

by the markets, which makes Japan much better off in comparison with other countries; the Japanese are cashing in on their gains as the rising yen boosts real income at home. Tax reform has also played a role. And home-building is up sharply, despite the high costs of building, because a 6 percent mortgage stretched out over two generations looks attractive if you expect inflation, now very low, to accelerate, shrinking your debt in real terms.

At some stage the rising yen risks boom-erasing on domestic demand, because lower competitiveness will shrink the profit margins of the big export industries and force them to reduce the capital outlays on which prosperity still partly depends.

The urge to introduce a value-added tax needs to be resisted. Eventually it will be needed to help support the aging population, but as long as total saving is so high—which is why Japan runs an excessive foreign surplus—the time is not ripe. Restrictive trade policies persist, especially in the farm sector, where protection is probably higher in Japan than anywhere else in the developed world. And it is unclear how much recent initiatives are going to add to the feeble flow of public aid to the Third World.

Still, give the Japanese credit for their present economic performance.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

Sugar Trade Is a Mess

The United States will import no more sugar in 1988 than it did in 1975. The way things are going, it may soon import none at all. That is splendid for a few thousand protected farmers—but a raw deal for everyone else. Hopes of relief have faded what with Congress adjourning, but the administration and consumers need to keep up the pressure for a reduced support price.

U.S. sugar law, in force since 1982, sets the American price, currently 21.8 cents a pound, at more than triple the world market price. At retail, sugar goes for about 36 cents a pound in Washington, D.C., is higher in Europe and still higher in Japan. In Latin America, the price is still higher. Third World countries it is substantially less.

To avoid federal outlays for surplus sugar, Congress ordained that the price be enforced by curtailing imports. If U.S. production rises, imports must fall and the consumer pays. The administration, having no real choice but to obey the law, has just whacked the 1988 quota by 25 percent, to approximately 750,000 tons—down 75 percent since 1982. It could drop to zero by 1990.

The American quota means trouble for the economies of the Caribbean, Brazil, the Philippines and Australia, among others. It also distorts agriculture and food processing at home. The high sugar price has increased the popularity of corn sweeteners and has driven some U.S. food companies over the border to Canada, where they can make their cake mixes, cookies and candy with cheaper raw material.

Why should all of America pay three times the world sugar price for the sake of a few farmers? In large measure because the

sugar lobby, rated as one of Washington's most effective, has a solid phalanx of support from the four big sugar-cane states—Texas, Florida, Louisiana and Hawaii—plus a dozen others that grow sugar beets, and lately from the corn belt, too.

The lobbyists point to a major factor driving down the world price: government subsidies that have generated oversupply in Europe. Washington hesitates to sacrifice American farmers to help subsidized European farmers afloat.

To deflect some of the impact on countries that Washington wants to help, and to help American refiners, Congress has voted to permit importation of an extra 800,000 tons next year from the Philippines and the Caribbean, provided that the refined product is re-exported. The sugar will come in at the American price and be re-exported at the lower world price, with the government making up the difference by giving refiners other surplus commodities. American consumers get no benefit; countries that are not in on the deal resent it.

While the Reagan administration would prefer a free market, foreign subsidies prevent it. But the administration believes, with reason, that a 12-cent support price would benefit consumers and America's trading partners without too much grief for American farmers. Congress continues to turn a deaf ear. On a broader plane, the administration is also pursuing the issue with the Europeans in the new round of global trade negotiations. Meanwhile, Uncle Sugar's unnecessarily high support price gouges consumers and hurts foreign farmers.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Insider Goes Inside

The man who boasted, "Greed is healthy—you can be greedy and still feel good about yourself," will have time now to think about that proposition. Ivan Boesky, the leading figure in the Wall Street insider trading scandal, was sentenced to three years in prison on Friday for his crime. U.S. District Judge Morris Lasker said, "Some kind of message must be sent to the business community that such activities cannot be wholly repented simply by repaying people after the fact." Was the penalty for this white-collar first offender too harsh? We don't think so. In fact, a good argument can be made that he worked out a very sweet deal with prosecutors, considering the magnitude of his scandalous operations.

Mr. Boesky was well known on Wall Street as an aggressive trader and self-described expert on risk arbitrage. He even wrote a book describing his economic theories and game plans for the market. It turns out, though, that he was not so much a scholar as a schemer who used inside information, not scientific analysis or brains, to build a personal fortune in the hundreds of millions of dollars. His greedy deals hurt thousands of other investors and rocked the public's confidence in the stock market. Implicated early in the scandal by one of his confederates, Dennis Levine, Mr. Boesky

initially faced charges on at least seven felonies involving insider trading. Within days of receiving an SEC subpoena, however, his lawyers arranged a plea bargain. Mr. Boesky admitted his guilt with respect to one charge, and the government dropped the others and promised not to prosecute him for any other crimes uncovered subsequently. He paid \$100 million to the government. Half was put in what is called a disgorgement fund—a return of illegal profits—to indemnify some of his creditors. The rest was a fine. The fine was paid in stock, which has lost 40 percent of its value since it was transferred.

In exchange for being allowed to plead to a single felony—with a maximum sentence of five years—Mr. Boesky has been cooperating with the government in the broader investigation of Wall Street. His lawyer told Judge Lasker that he had implicated 14 additional suspects and five major brokerage houses, to perhaps the last arrangement, but that he had not yet named them. Many years for Mr. Boesky, remember that his family still has millions of dollars in assets, and that he will be eligible for parole in 12 months. This, of course, could change dramatically when those who were cheated by him prosecute their lawsuits.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Better to Get Out of Gaza

Shimon Peres has proposed that the Gaza Strip be demilitarized and the Jewish settlements there removed. Whether this would be a unilateral gesture or part of a package is uncertain, and will remain so because Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has rejected the notion. Yet it makes political and military sense. The past two weeks may well be seen by Palestinians as a turning point in their fortunes. If so, further chance opportunities

to unnerve the security forces will be taken, with the inevitability of reprisals. That spells at least deep embarrassment for President Mubarak of Egypt, for the Palestinians will put it to him that if he, with his peace treaty, is powerless to improve their situation, the treaty should be abrogated. That would be a disaster. But a de facto withdrawal by Israel from Gaza would relieve a lot of tension and be an earnest of good will toward the remaining Palestinians in occupied land.

—The Guardian (London)

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OPINION

The Outlook Is Bleak for Conventional Arms Control

By Robert Blackwill

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts

—In the aftermath of the INF treaty, attention in the West is sensibly turning to conventional defense and arms control in Europe. After Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington, there is even a hint of optimism in the air on this subject. Such optimism should stop. Significant progress in conventional arms control negotiations in the next several years is quite unlikely.

It is true that Moscow's rhetoric concerning conventional arms control has changed. In calling for deep reductions of conventional arms, the Soviets now routinely use the phrase "reasonable sufficiency" to describe the proper objective of Warsaw Pact and NATO defenses. They call for a transformed European security system based on "new thinking" in which neither alliance has the capacity for surprise attack. They admit that the Warsaw Pact has asymmetric advantages in some conventional weapons systems such as tanks. Moreover, major cutbacks in the Red Army would certainly assist Mr. Gorbachev's efforts to reform and reinvigorate the Soviet economy.

So why the pessimism? • The Warsaw Pact enjoys conventional superiority in Europe with no prospect that NATO will build up its conventional forces. Moscow could well wish through an arms control agreement with the West to codify its conventional advantages at lower levels. Why should it wish to negotiate them away?

• It is possible that the U.S.S.R. would be willing to trade some armor for Western nuclear weapons and/or dual-capable aircraft. After INF, such a deal would further the Soviet goal of a denuclearized Europe and therefore will for the foreseeable future be unacceptable to NATO. So what Moscow wants, NATO will not give.

• The withdrawal of many Soviet divisions from Eastern Europe could incite unrest there and threat-

en Mr. Gorbachev's hold on power.

• Any NATO conventional arms control proposal should seek deep cuts in Soviet forces in the western U.S.S.R. as well as major withdrawals from Eastern Europe. James Thomson of the Rand Corporation and I have suggested equal tank and artillery limits for NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals area and in Central Europe and have argued that because of the immense mass of Soviet reinforcement capability from the U.S.S.R., small reductions, even if asymmetrical, would be worse than nothing. But equal armaments ceilings would require the elimination of tens of thousands of Warsaw Pact and especially Soviet tanks and artillery. This would signal not just an arms control agreement but a fundamental transformation of the postwar political order in Europe. Not likely.

• Verifying a conventional arms control agreement would be enormously difficult. It would require rapid Western access to thousands of Eastern military installations as well as Soviet willingness to expose, in an exchange of information with the West, the order of battle down to the battalion level. To imagine such military openness—far beyond the INF verification regime—is to contemplate another sort of Soviet Union than even the most accommodating Gorbachev could likely deliver.

• Mr. Gorbachev can reduce the size of the bloated Soviet armed forces unilaterally, thus saving money, without appreciably diminishing the military threat to Western Europe. This could include small Soviet troop withdrawals—no more than four divisions—from Eastern Europe, which would be meant to impress Western public opinion, stimulate NATO reciprocity, allow rapid reintroduction of Soviet forces in time of East European turbulence and avoid stringent verification. In

fact, one could argue that if Mr. Gorbachev really wishes urgently to reduce Soviet spending on conventional forces, he cannot afford to wait for a treaty with the West that at best could take years to conclude.

All this is not to say that the United States and NATO should give up on this endeavor as hopeless. To do so would both leave the initiative with Moscow and miss the opportunity to test Mr. Gorbachev's fine-sounding phrases. Therefore the alliance needs publicly to put forth soon its concept for conventional arms control in Europe and explain how this concept fits into Western strategy. But to believe that Mr. Gorbachev, no matter how visionary,

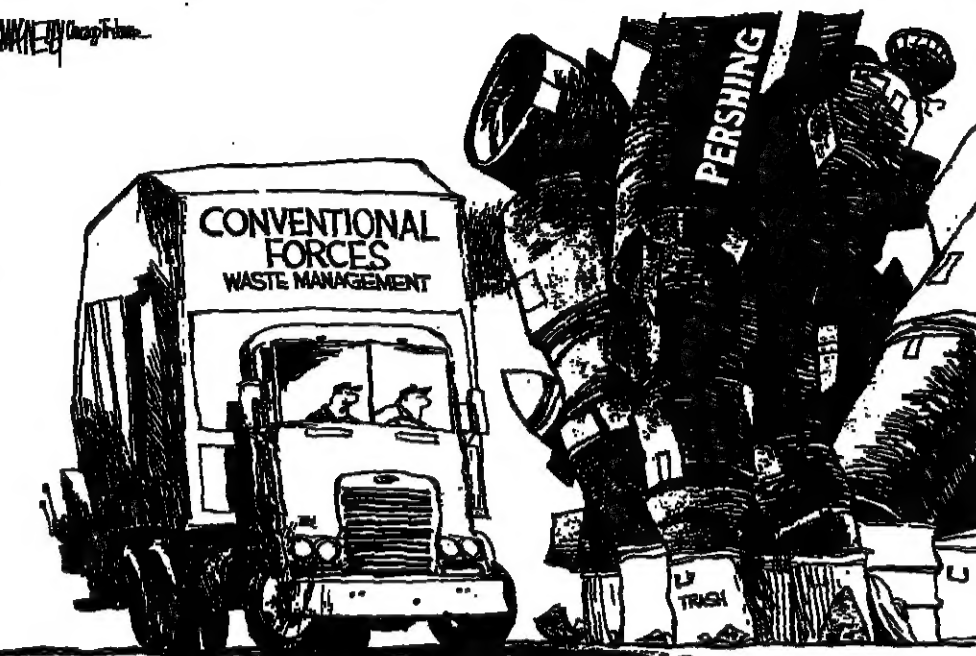
through good will and arms control will rescue the West from its conventional inferiority in Europe is to be on the lookout for Santa.

It follows that nuclear deterrence will remain a crucial element in the defense of the West.

After the INF treaty is ratified, we can expect renewed Soviet and Western, especially German, domestic pressure to reduce, even eliminate, battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe with ranges below 500 kilometers. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany has stated that he has a commitment from NATO ministers that the alliance will expeditiously press for follow-on talks with Moscow on these short-range nuclear systems, most of which are deployed in the Federal

Republic. Since such a negotiation would serve Moscow's objective of moving toward a nuclear-free Europe, one could expect much more Soviet flexibility here than with respect to conventional forces. Thus NATO's enduring conventional inferiority could be matched by an ever less credible nuclear deterrent. Call it old thinking or new, this is what Moscow may have in mind. General Secretary Gorbachev can, of course, demonstrate otherwise—but not in the pages of Pravda.

The writer was U.S. ambassador to the conventional force negotiations in Vienna from 1985 until this year, and is now teaching at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.



"I think we could use another couple of trucks."

The INF Treaty Turns a Useful Spotlight on Conventional Forces

By Richard N. Haase

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts

—The treaty eliminating land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces will probably pass the Senate when it comes up for a vote next spring. First will come a prolonged debate that will raise the question of whether the treaty has left America and its allies more vulnerable in Europe. As a result, the treaty's most significant contribution may not be the nuclear arms it eliminates but the new phase of concern and action on conventional arms that it stimulates.

This will not be the result of any design. Liberal senators will greet the treaty enthusiastically, believing that it will usher in a new, more constructive era in superpower relations. The treaty will be opposed, or approved reluctantly, by conservatives who fear that it will hurt Americans into a false sense of security.

History suggests that neither prediction is likely to be borne out. The highly successful 1972 summit meeting which produced the SALT-1 agreement and the anti-ballistic missile treaty did not deter the Soviet Union from undermining détente. Similarly, the 1979 SALT-2 accord was followed by increased Soviet support for its Ethiopian client and the invasion of Afghanistan. In the Soviet Union, no discernible improvement in human rights was triggered by gains in arms control; on the contrary, the emigration of Jews declined steadily throughout the decade.

Several factors account for this failure of

arms control success to improve the larger relationship. Agreement to regulate competition in one sphere of the relationship ought not to be confused with a mutual desire, or the ability, to regulate competition everywhere. Arms control agreements can ameliorate a particular problem in relations but cannot transform the relationship. The rivalry is not a problem that can be solved but a condition that can only be managed in parts.

But if the hopes of liberals are likely to be unrealized, so are the worst fears of conservatives. With the exception of the 1972 ABM treaty, after which for several years U.S. spending on ballistic missile defense research declined, all major arms control agreements have stimulated military spending. Administrations have to accelerate military spending in order to assure the military, Congress and public that the accord in question will not hurt the government into an illusory feeling of safety.

Similar assertions of robustness are all but certain to accompany the INF debate. Administration pledges on defense spending could be a quick pro quo for senators whose support is sought for the treaty.

There may, however, be an opportunity in the divergent visions of left and right to exploit the situation that is sure to be devised by the balance of conventional weapons in Europe.

Most statistical measurements show substantial NATO inferiority in tanks, artillery and active divisions. More sophisticated assessments—ones that take into account qualitative factors as well as developments in other theaters, weather, alliance cohesion and NATO-Warsaw Pact mobilization schedules—also point to significant Soviet advantages.

Attention to the military balance could conceivably create support in America and Europe for increased spending on conventional forces. What is needed is real growth in defense spending of 4 to 5 percent for several years.

However, an appeal to voters to provide much more for defense by raising taxes or reducing domestic spending is likely to be rejected. A more realistic possibility is a fresh policy that seeks to derive more bang for the same amount of bucks. Spending could be targeted on programs that would frustrate the first echelon of invading Warsaw Pact forces. No less important would be efforts to increase NATO's ammunition and war reserve stocks and provide better protection for communications and aircraft. NATO planners should consider selective use of new technologies, tactics that would take the fighting onto Warsaw Pact soil and expanded use of artificial barriers composed of modern sensors and mines.

The West needs to test Mikhail Gorbachev.

It is essential to determine the depth of his commitment to restructuring foreign policy, which heretofore has relied heavily on the threat or use of force. Arms control in Europe provides a perfect opening.

NATO should propose that the Warsaw Pact agree to parity in tanks and artillery. Only in the context of reductions to equal levels of conventional arms should America and its allies even consider additional cuts in nuclear weapons beyond the INF treaty.

At first, an initiative along these lines would almost certainly meet with Soviet rejection. This would not be a reason to forgo such an approach. The INF experience suggests that patience is as much necessity as virtue.

And such talks would provide a network against unilateral American troop withdrawals and a decline in the level of the European defense effort, either of which would diminish allied bargaining leverage during negotiations.

The talks would also pinpoint areas of military imbalance requiring redress and provide the political framework for whatever military modernization is needed in the NATO forces.

If arms control can accomplish all this, it will finally deserve the attention it has been getting.

The writer, who teaches at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, is co-editor of a book on American-Soviet arms control agreements. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Human Rights: The Silence of the Free Helps the Oppressors

By Jimmy Carter

ATLANTA—The United States

was one of the first nations to promote the development of international human rights law. It has to date ratified no major human rights treaty. There are only a handful of countries—South Africa is one of them—that have a poor record on this subject as our own.

This does not mean that we are serious violators of human rights. It does mean that our efforts to promote human rights are hampered. By failing to ratify these conventions we weaken the very international institutions that have become the strongest defenders of human rights. Furthermore, the countries we criticize for violations question our authority, since we have refused to accept the obligations we ask them to honor.

In recent years our leaders have lowered their emphasis on human rights. The United States is seriously in default on its payment of dues, both to the United Nations and to the Organization of American States. These organizations are close to bankruptcy. The shortage of funds has had a catastrophic impact on the activities of their human rights institutions. It is imperative, therefore, that our country comply with its financial obligations to the United Nations and the OAS.

Our commitment to human rights must always be clear, consistent, indisputable and unequivocal. The United States must guard against neglect of this issue from either the White House or the Congress. We need a permanent human rights review body in the State Department, and an advocate general who would report to Congress any apparent violations by our government of international law.

We should strengthen the United Nations in every way possible and

revive the long-dormant Costa Rican proposal for the establishment of the office of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Such a position, modeled on the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, is needed to give this effort the institutional importance and high international visibility required for the effective performance of its functions.

Our definition of human rights should not be too narrow. People have a right to full civil economic needs—to be fed, housed, clothed and educated. Civil and political rights must be protected—freedom of speech, thought, assembly, travel and participation in government. The rights of personal integrity are the most obvious of all—freedom from arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, torture or murder by one's own government.

Our humanity requires that we protect whenever violations of human rights occur anywhere, but our effectiveness in moving the world toward more humane treatment of people requires that we make some distinctions. The most serious human rights violations involve attacks on the rights of people to life and freedom.

Torture is still used on a massive scale by governments around the world. In South Africa, even children—many hundreds of them—have been imprisoned and tortured by a government whose cruel apartheid policies have justly earned it worldwide condemnation.

The practice of forced disappearances, a euphemism for murder,

which was exposed in Argentina and Brazil, continues in some Latin American countries and elsewhere. Not only are the police and military officials practicing or tolerating torture and murder, but there is strong evidence to suggest the active collaboration of attorneys and physicians, a shameful perversion of professions sworn to justice and healing.

One-party, oppressive regimes of the left and right dominate Africa and the Middle East, and still exist in Asia and Latin America. The Soviet Union and its satellites and the People's Republic of China systematically deny basic civil and political rights to individuals and groups.

Most of these countries tolerate no political dissent, deny freedom of expression and severely limit freedom of movement and travel.

When authoritarian and totalitarian governments display signs of liberalization, as seems to be occurring with glasnost in the Soviet Union and progress toward free elections in South Korea, these trends should be encouraged by the international community.

The best assurance that fundamental personal rights will be respected is within democratic systems, where people can replace their leaders peacefully by secret ballot and where independent courts can prevent the arbitrary use of power.

The initial signs of transition toward democracy in Haiti were welcome, but that country has recently suffered a setback by inaction or outright obstruction of elections by the military government.

A similar need exists for free elections in Chile, where citizens have long cried out for the right to choose their own leaders, to escape oppression and to shape the destiny of their nation.

The sweep of democracy across Latin America in the last decade is a source of joy for all of us, but many of these new democracies are still fragile and face serious human rights dilemmas. The question of whether to give amnesty to those who murdered or "disappeared" others is a most difficult one for these new democracies. The heavy burden of external debt prevents the alleviation of poverty, homelessness and starvation.

Even long-standing democracies

suffer from human rights problems.

Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are now in their 21st year of living under military occupation, deprived of political and economic rights. Some Israeli leaders are eagerly seeking a peace agreement with their neighbors that would end human rights abuses in the occupied territories; others are not so concerned about this tragedy.

The United States finds itself among a diminishing group of nations that impose the death penalty on children. Recently the Inter-American Commission on human rights ruled that by engaging in this practice our nation was in plain violation of its international human rights obligations. It is worth noting that while our own resort to executions is on the increase, most countries of Western Europe have recently signed an international agreement outlawing the death penalty outright.

South Africa should be high on our agenda for the new year. Given the worsening human rights situation there, the United States and other nations must develop stronger policies, including a broad range of economic sanctions, to compel Pretoria to end apartheid and withdraw from its unlawful occupation of Namibia.

Cox News Service.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1887: Plan for Bulgaria

BERLIN—I have reason to believe that since yesterday [Dec. 20] an interchange of telegrams has been going on between Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg, with regard to the Bulgarian question. A general officer is to be sent out to the Principality as representative of the Powers who signed the Berlin Treaty. He will be supplied with a joint commission to rule the country. A conference is to be called to settle the Bulgarian question. It is hoped that a conflict will be avoided and that relations between Russia and the two allied Empires will regain their normal character.

1912: If the Talks Fail

PARIS—In a statement on the European situation, Raymond Poincaré, the Prime Minister, intimated that if the peace negotiations in London between the Balkan States and Turkey were broken off, the Powers would intervene to prevent the conflict

spreading. "From the outset," said M. Poincaré, "France has worked to prepare general negotiations between the Powers. But no conversations were opened without due deliberation and without a complete understanding between France, Great Britain and Russia." He added: "The Powers well know the solidity of the Balkan alliance. If the negotiations in London should unfortunately be broken off, Europe must intervene to prevent an extension of the conflict."

1937: Cash for Delivery

TOOLE, Utah—Babies, 1938 model, will be cash before delivery if Dr. J.H. Peck is their usher. The physician inserted this notice in a newspaper here: "In 1937 I delivered 500 to 550 babies in Toole. I got paid for fifty of them in the most prosperous year in Toole's history. I do not need the experience, but I do need the sleep. I will do no deliveries during delivery takes place."

JPM 10150

OPINION

Linkage Isn't a Bad Idea, But Don't Mix the Links

By Charles Krauthammer

WASHINGTON — It seems that every American politician has his idea of linkage. In April, Sam Nunn urged that an Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty be linked to reductions in the Soviet tank force. Jack Kemp wants INF linked to rectification of Soviet violations of previous treaties. Robert Byrd advised Mikhail Gorbachev that Senate ratification of the INF treaty would be helped by a Soviet announcement of withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The problem with free-for-all linkage is that, given the number of things America wants from the Soviets and the number of things they want from it, the number of possible permutations on linkage is infinite. And too much linkage yields none. The Soviets will never know which linkages America is really serious about. Instead they are likely to conclude that linkage is simply the American way of sinking, reachable agreements by holding them hostage to unrelated and impossible demands.

Linkage is an important tool in dealing with the Soviets, but to be effective it must be used sparingly and logically. The cardinal rule must be: Link like with like.

Link arms control to arms control. President Reagan is now in a position to conclude a dramatic strategic arms agreement. The distance between his Strategic Defense Initiative position and the Soviets' — whether or not to permit testing in outer space during the next seven to 10 years — is small. Moreover, the Soviet position is the same as the Senate's. It is being imposed on the administration regardless.

Time to cash in the chip. But for what? For two things. First, for a dramatic cut in Soviet land-based ballistic missiles, which pose the threat of surprise (first-strike) attack. At the Washington summit, Mr. Reagan asked for that and did not get it. In return for agreeing to live by the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty for seven to 10 years, the United States should insist on a strict sublimit of warheads on land-based missiles.

Second, link the SDI/ABM concession to a new agenda for arms control, namely, no more nuclear talks until the

major non-nuclear arms issues are resolved. Until the questions of chemical and biological weapons and the imbalance of tanks and artillery on the central front in Europe have been settled, no more talk about nukes. No talk of further reducing America's strategic nuclear deterrent. And no talk of eliminating battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe.

Pressure is already building in West Germany to get rid of battlefield weapons. And it is a supreme Soviet objective to encourage the denuclearization of West Germany in the hopes of neutralizing and detaching it from the Western alliance. America's price for SDI must be Soviet agreement to table all talk of further nuclear reductions.

Link regional issues with regional issues. The Soviets know they can no longer win in Afghanistan. What they have to show for their efforts is, in the words of one diplomat, "socialism in one city." They want out. The longer they wait to withdraw, the longer they bleed.

They want a deal. Why give it to them? Washington should say to Mr. Gorbachev: Afghanistan is your problem. You got in, you get out. You were no help to us in Vietnam and we believe in reciprocity. It is in our interest to see you leave Afghanistan by helicopter off the roof of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul. We want a rout, not a settlement.

You want our help to prevent a rout in your backyard? Then you help us in ours. You want a settlement rather than a defeat in Afghanistan. We want a settlement rather than a defeat in Nicaragua. We will use our leverage to guarantee a nonaligned, neutral Afghanistan if you use yours to help guarantee a non-Communist Nicaragua. Our opening demand: Cut off military aid to the Sandinists.

Human rights. On arms control and regional conflicts, there is some symmetry between the superpowers. On human rights there is none. America cannot link their human rights issues to its own because they deny their people freedom and America doesn't. Nor does it make sense to link human rights to arms control or to regional conflicts. No president will or should refuse an arms control treaty because of low emigration rates from the Soviet Union.

Leverage on human rights must be non-military and non-strategic. Trade, for example. Fortunately, the necessary law, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, is already on the books. It needs only to be guarded against those ready to deal it away for Mr. Gorbachev's sunny smile. If the Soviets show themselves more humane to their captive populations, America will reciprocate economically. Linkage is a good idea, but only if you don't mix linkages. Don't link arms control with human rights. Or regional conflicts with trade. And don't link INF with anything. That treaty is done. The time to think about linkage is before you sign, not after.

Washington Post Writers Group.



'Who's the new man?'

When the Other Woman Wasn't a Flaw

By William vanden Heuvel

HYDE PARK, New York — Wendell Willkie was chosen in a grassroots political revolution that took the nominating process away from the political bosses. He was an Indiana farm boy, an outspoken critic of President Franklin Roosevelt's domestic policies, an internationalist — and a Democrat until a few months before his nomination as the Republican standard-bearer.

Mr. Willkie, who lived in Manhattan, was a courageous and powerful personality, admired for integrity, independence and the Horatio Alger character of a career that had brought him wealth and influence. He was also a "womanizer."

Among his principal political lieutenants was a brilliant lawyer, Bartley Crum. Many years after the 1940 Roosevelt-Willkie race, I lunched with Mr. Crum. I was a young lawyer and an uncompromising admirer of Roosevelt. I never forgot one story Mr. Crum told. According to Mr. Crum, a reporter approached Mr. Willkie after his nomination and told him that he had information that he was living with a woman other than his wife. "Yes," Mr. Willkie reportedly replied, "I am in love with another woman — and I don't intend to apologize for that or to pretend that it isn't so. If you print this story, my campaign for the presidency is probably over. But

that is your decision. I have made mine."

I always believed that this was one of the bravado stories that emerge from campaigns. If the story was that well known, why wouldn't the Roosevelt campaign have used it to advantage? Why wouldn't some magazine or newspaper have printed such a dramatic story, if only to beat a competitor to it?

I regarded the story as more fantasy than fact — at least, I did until reading an

MEANWHILE

admirable biography of Mr. Willkie that was written by Steve Neal. Mr. Neal writes: "Willkie was a ladies' man and he looked for romantic flings." Mr. Willkie's associates linked him with a variety of women ranging from secretaries to movie stars. Gardner Cowles, publisher of Look, one of America's most popular magazines, and a media owner of great power, who, with Henry Luce, used his publications to promote Mr. Willkie's career, is quoted as saying: "He was not at all discreet. I thought [his behavior with women] was careless and stupid."

Mr. Neal described the situation that occasioned Mr. Crum's reminiscence

years before. Wendell Willkie fell in love. Irita Van Doren, the brilliant, widely admired book editor of The New York Herald Tribune, had divorced her husband. She met Mr. Willkie the next year and began a friendship that was nurtured by a mutual interest in books and the history of the South. Their affection deepened into a love that never wavered and that Mr. Willkie never denied.

They essentially lived together. They traveled together. They were invited together to the homes of friends and business associates. Columnist Joseph Alsop observed, "They were very much like a married couple" — except that Mr. Willkie was married to someone else. As his presidential aspirations became plausible, his advisers urged that Mrs. Van Doren be kept in the background.

According to Mr. Neal: "Willkie resented the hypocrisy of politics and believed his private life was his own. He took chances that other political figures wouldn't take." He even scheduled a press conference at Mrs. Van Doren's apartment. "Everybody knows about us — all the newspapers in New York," he told friends. "If somebody should come along to threaten or embarrass me about Irita, I would say, 'Go right ahead.' There's not a reporter in New York who doesn't know about her."

Edith Willkie apparently remained devoted to her husband. She is quoted as saying, "I can find more pleasure in walking down the street with him than in anything else I know."

Mrs. Van Doren feared that Mr. Willkie's nomination would end their relationship. The nominee assured her that they would resume once the election was over. (If he had won, would he have sought a divorce? I don't know.) Their relationship was never publicly mentioned in the campaign. Franklin Roosevelt won, but Mr. Willkie became his ally in gaining crucial support for the policy of aiding Britain in resisting the dictators.

Wendell Willkie's book "One World" was a powerful force in guiding the United States toward the necessity of international cooperation and the creation of the United Nations.

As the Democratic Party's morality play of 1988 unfolds with the return of Gary Hart to the campaign, the story of Wendell Willkie reminds us of a time when there was a distinction between "public" and "private" lives.

I do not write this in support of Mr. Hart. He has many long miles to travel before those who want the Democrats to win the 1988 election should make a decision about his candidacy.

But if Mr. Willkie ran today, he would be considered fatally flawed. Unlike today's critics, his contemporaries did not assume that his relationships with women would affect his capacity to lead and govern. He remains one of the most exciting, influential Americans of this century. Any country should be careful before destroying progeny of such quality and talent.

The writer, a lawyer and diplomat, is president of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Progress, and Gorbachev's Survival, Are Up to the Senate

The media spotlight on Senate debate of the INF accord has awakened Americans, and many observers overseas as well, to the vital importance of ratification for the continuation of constructive East-West dialogue. As American students of international relations at the London School of Economics, we wish to offer our perspective.

We share the national security concerns of those at home, yet sense a broader issue at stake. Never has the moment been riper for both sides to make political capital out an admittedly limited agreement. For the climate which it fosters, as well as its arms control dimension, we feel that a swift and positive Senate response to the treaty is imperative.

The Senate should play a crucial role in the American political process by ensuring that agreements negotiated by the White House are in the best interests of the people. Its review of the INF treaty must not become a "rubber stamp" exercise. But crippling amendments would do the nation and the world a great disservice.

Let anyone think nonratification would lead to the same tacit adherence that SALT-2 commanded, we emphasize that Mikhail Gorbachev is not Leonid Brezhnev; his political survival depends on INF's acceptance in fact, not merely in principle. Senate rejection of the treaty would destroy both Mr. Gorbachev's foreign policy and any hope of Moscow offering concrete disarmament proposals for years to come.

That we must prevent. Global political progress depends on constructive ex-

change as much as U.S. security does.

America has consistently stated its support for arms control and disarmament. Now is the time to translate those words into action. If Richard Perle (a former student at the London School of Economics) is inclined to support the treaty, it seems surprising that stiff criticism of it persists. The Senate must approve the treaty or expect the "good-faith" initiatives of the United States, such as the zero option, to be interpreted as little more than empty rhetoric.

No utopian outcome is guaranteed by ratification. With all its imperfections, however, the INF agreement is the greatest positive stride in East-West relations in this generation.

CHRISTOPHER J. CASTLE,
MICHAEL J. DEVINE,
STEPHANIE GAINES,
TERESA MCGILGASHAN,
London.

Again, like SALT-2 in 1979, a historic agreement has been signed by the superpowers. But will the Senate ratify it this time? Might it not have been better to sell the INF treaty to Congress before inviting Mikhail Gorbachev for the signing festivities? And if Congress and the president were elected simultaneously, every four or five years, the United States might become governable.

J.E. BENTZON,
Bergen, Norway.

In "Europe Looks Beyond U.S.-Soviet Treaty" (Nov. 27), Joseph Fichtel writes about Europe's "recollections of the Sen-

ate rejection of the SALT-2 treaty." There was opposition in committee, but the full Senate never rejected the treaty. In January 1980, President Carter asked the Senate to defer consideration after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

ESKIL SVANE,
Montpellier, France.

Remember the Difference

A. M. Rosenthal, in "Remember: As a Meadow Differs From a Prison Yard" (Dec. 9), speaks for the America we respect and love. People in Central and Eastern Europe, and their fellow countrymen in the West, are grateful to him and to the International Herald Tribune for this timely warning. Mikhail Gorbachev's strategy — which Mr. Rosenthal detects and denounces — of seeking recognition of supposed moral equivalence shows through clearly in the misinformation hidden among the lofty platitudes in his book "Perestroika."

S. GROCHOLSKI,
Hamm-Mille, Belgium.

What Nordic Static?

I find John C. Ausland's comments in "After the Summit, Shultz Might Hear Nordic Static" (Dec. 9) puzzling. He states that Norwegians ought to quit being so polite — but what are they to get worked up about? That the United States viewed the sale of high technology by the Kongsberg arms firm to the Soviet Union as a serious breach? The Norwegian government is of the same mind.

That former Prime Minister Kaare Willoch of Norway was denied the post

of NATO secretary-general? This does not seem like grounds for deep-set annoyance — disappointment yes.

That the United States is pre-positioning materiel in Norway to supply a marine brigade in support of Norway's defense? A touchy subject in Norway, but a move that is welcomed by the military and the government.

I find a casual relationship to be a good relationship when one of the governments must keep in mind a loud anti-NATO minority and both governments represent proud, opinionated people who would resent any type of open retreat in the face of an ally's pressure.

ERIK INGARD HODNE,
Oslo.

Malaysia's Print Law

Regarding the editorial "Backward in Malaysia" (Dec. 2):

It is unfortunate that The New York Times viewed the recent amendments to the Printing Presses and Publications Act of 1984 negatively. They are designed to safeguard Malaysia's political stability and continued economic development. While updating a number of provisions of the act, the amendments render it more effective: They spell out precisely the parameters in which various branches of government, the press and the public can operate unambiguously, and they protect the harmonious, and understandably delicate, fabric of the multiracial society from being subjected to provocative, misleading and incorrect information.

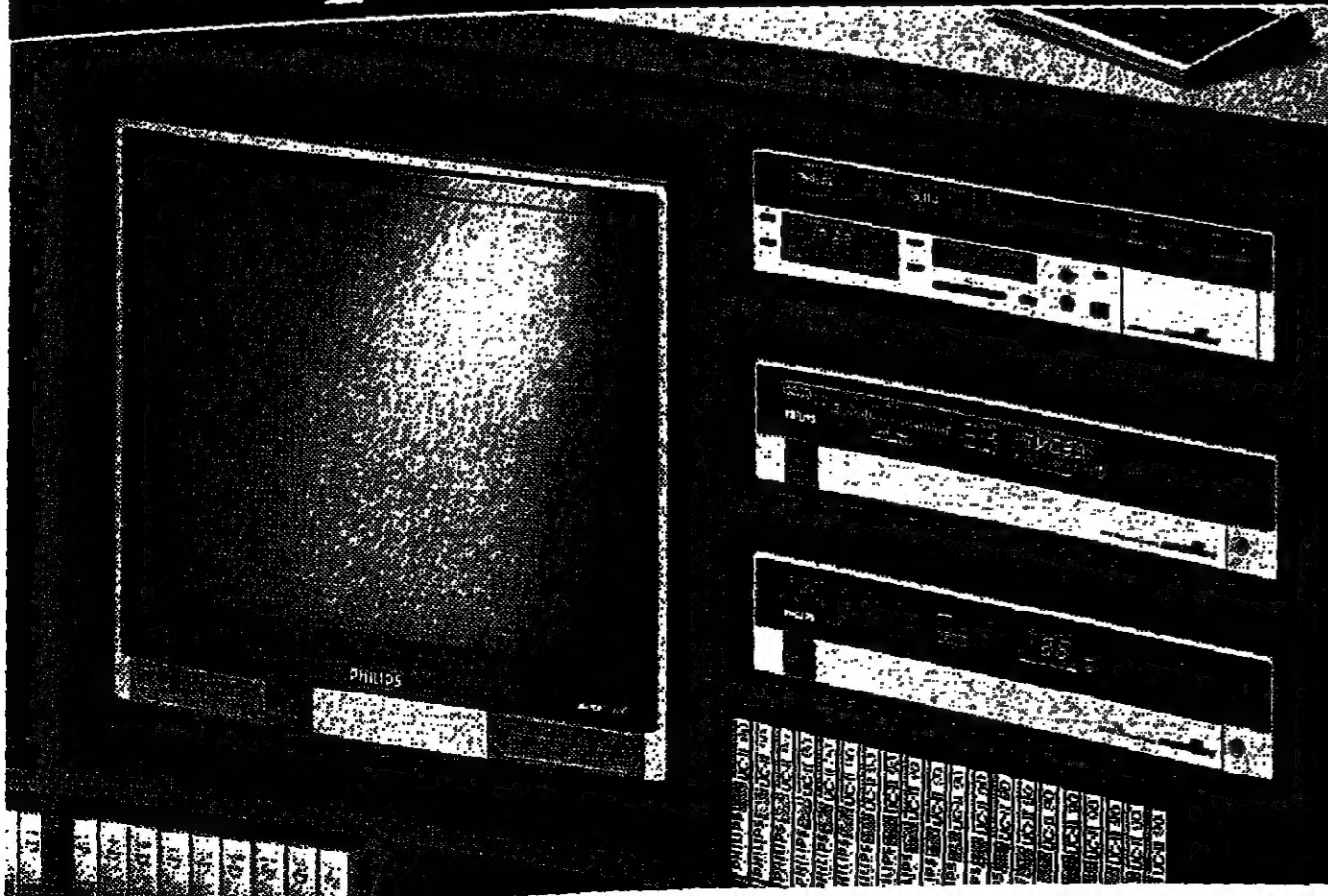
DATUK ISMAIL AMBIA,
Ambassador of Malaysia,
Paris.

When it comes to applying new technology, Philips is right among the world leaders. Using our innovative strength to add attractive and valuable new functions, to make operation simpler and more effective, and to reach new heights in performance.

Just one of the areas in which we've applied our innovative technology is that of professional work stations, which are also going to lead the revolution in consumer electronics. With products ranging from stand alone advanced-technology personal computers, up to complete systems for office automation, banking and hotels.

Computers are a key product area for Philips, because of the potential importance of their technology in many other fields. Helping us to create the advanced new products of tomorrow.

Philips takes video into the computing age.



For example the style-setting Matchline, which brings a complete system approach to home video, TV and audio enjoyment. Based on a choice of perfectly matched components that meet today's highest standards of picture and sound quality, as well as unmatched convenience of operation. And with a single, multi-function control centre that makes remote operation of your complete integrated audio and video system even easier than ever.

The outstanding performance and simple control of our consumer products is based directly on our leading technology in professional electronics. The technology that takes video into the computing age. Philips. The sure sign of innovation.



PHILIPS

NYSE Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
AT&T	21.25	21.10	21.15	+0.05	
IBM	124.00	123.00	123.00	-0.25	
GE	28.00	27.50	27.50	-0.25	
Merck	48.00	47.50	47.50	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	

Market Sales					
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	161,790,000				
NYSE adv. cons. close	30,419,520				
NYSE adv. cons. open	16,710,000				
NYSE adv. cons. volume	1,497,000				
NYSE adv. cons. price	23.47				
NYSE adv. cons. value	34,710,000				
NYSE adv. cons. change	+1,497,000				
NYSE adv. cons. price	23.47				
NYSE adv. cons. value	34,710,000				
NYSE adv. cons. change	+1,497,000				

NYSE Index					
High	Low	Close	Chg.		
Composite	124.00	123.00	-0.25		
Industries	124.00	123.00	-0.25		
Finance	124.00	123.00	-0.25		
Utilities	124.00	123.00	-0.25		
Transport	124.00	123.00	-0.25		

Monday's NYSE Closing

Via The Associated Press

AMEX Diary					
Advanced	Declined	Unchanged	Total Issues	High	Low
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17

NASDAQ Index					
Close	Chg.	Week Ago	Year Ago	High	Low
224.47	+1.76	224.47	224.47	224.47	224.47
224.47	+1.76	224.47	224.47	224.47	224.47
224.47	+1.76	224.47	224.47	224.47	224.47
224.47	+1.76	224.47	224.47	224.47	224.47

AMEX Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	
Amgen	110.00	109.00	109.00	-0.25	

Dow Jones Bond Averages					
Close	Chg.				
100.00	-0.05				
100.00	-0.05				
100.00	-0.05				
100.00	-0.05				
100.00	-0.05				

NYSE Diary					
Advanced	Declined	Unchanged	Total Issues	High	Low
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17

Odd-Lot Trading In N.Y.					
Buy	Sell	Net	High	Low	Close
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17

Dow Jones Averages					
Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
174.44	208.45	199.25	199.25	+15.08	
174.44	208.45	199.25	199.25	+15.08	
174.44	208.45	199.25	199.25	+15.08	
174.44	208.45	199.25	199.25	+15.08	
174.44	208.45	199.25	199.25	+15.08	

Standard & Poor's Index					
High	Low	Close	Chg.		
289.18	284.56	284.56	+0.47		
289.18	284.56	284.56	+0.47		
289.18	284.56	284.56	+0.47		
289.18	284.56	284.56	+0.47		
289.18	284.56	284.56	+0.47		

NASDAQ Diary					
Advanced	Declined	Unchanged	Total Issues	High	Low
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17
17	17	17	17	17	17

AMEX Stock Index					
High	Low	Close	Chg.		
256.78	255.37	255.75	+0.45		
256.78	255.37	255.75	+0.45		
256.78	255.37	255.75	+0.45		
256.78	255.37	255.75	+0.45		
256.78	255.37	255.75	+0.45		

12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 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NYSE Up in Moderate Trading

United Press International

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange extended their December advance Monday in moderate trading as Wall Street began to settle into a pre-holiday slow-down.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which had climbed 108.26 points last week, rose 15.08 points to close at 1,990.38. The Dow has risen in 9 of the past 11 sessions for a net gain of 223.64 points.

Advancing issues led declines, 932-715. Volume totaled 161.79 million shares, lower than 276.23 million on Friday.

Broad market indexes gained slightly. The NYSE composite index rose 0.34 to 139.49. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index rose 0.38 to 249.54. The price of an average share added 7 cents.

"This is a typical pre-holiday market that seems to have an upward bias," said John Burnett, senior vice president at Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette.

"The institutions are more inclined to buy than sell. It will probably be a decent market between now and Jan. 1. It might even get duller as we get toward Christmas Eve, if it can get any duller than this."

Mr. Burnett said the technical analysts he has talked to say they believe that if the Dow industrials can hold above 1,975 for a few days in succession, the market could start testing the 2,025 level.

"We have a market where sellers appear to have taken a holiday," he said.

Hildegard Zagorski of Prudential-Bache Securities Inc. said, "The market got off to a

reasonably good start today, and we don't see anything that would deflect the uptrend.

"The economy looks pretty good, we are getting cracking on the budget-reduction plan, and there is the possibility of a G-7 reaffirmation of the Louvre accord" on stabilization of currencies.

West Germany has confirmed that the G-7, or Group of Seven nations, which consists of the United States, West Germany, France, Japan, Britain, Canada and Italy, plans to issue a statement on currency stabilization, but has said no date has been set.

"Everything is going rather nicely," Ms. Zagorski said. "Our technical analysts see the Dow at around 2,400 by June."

"We might get a slowdown in the next couple of days. It's possible there could be a minor pullback. And it's possible it could just forge ahead. Overall, we're saying things are looking positive. We are bullish for the month of January."

Texaco was the most active NYSE-listed issue, off 1 to 37 1/2. The company filed on Monday a bankruptcy reorganization plan under which it will pay Pennzoil Co. \$3 billion in cash to settle their legal battle over Getty Oil Co. Pennzoil was down 1 1/4 to 77 1/2.

General Electric followed, up 1/4 to 46. Storage Technology was third, off 1/4 to 14 1/4. AT&T was down 1/4 to 28 1/4. IBM was up 1/4 to 118.

Among other blue chips, American Express was up 1/4 to 24 1/4. Merck was up 1/4 to 48 1/4. USX was up 1/4 to 30 1/4.

Prices were higher in active trading on the American Stock Exchange.

NYSE Up in Moderate Trading					
12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div. Yld. PE	Chg.
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00

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12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00

NYSE Up in Moderate Trading					
12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div. Yld. PE	Chg.
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
12 Month	12.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00

ن العمل

هكذا من الجاهل

Herald Tribune BUSINESS/FINANCE

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1987

Page 9

INTERNATIONAL STOCK MARKETS

International Bond Funds: Already Past Their Prime?

By BILL SING
Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Although the falling dollar has helped international bond mutual funds become shining stars since the stock market peaked in late August, some experts wonder whether these funds may soon lose their luster. The funds — most less than a year old — invest primarily in foreign bonds, with some investing in U.S. bonds as well.

As such, they can gain in any of three ways. First, they gain from interest yield on the bonds. That can range from 4.7 percent for 10-year Japanese government bonds to 14.9 percent for 5-year New Zealand government bonds. Second, they can profit from lower interest rates overseas, which boost bond prices just as lower U.S. interest rates aid domestic bonds.

Third, and most important, they benefit from the rising value of foreign currencies relative to the dollar. Foreign bonds, like any item denominated in foreign currencies, gain value when those currencies rise relative to the dollar.

For most of this year, all three factors have worked in favor of international bond funds. They are up 17.58 percent for the year to date through Thursday, making them the third best performing fund group after gold funds (up 36.68 percent) and option growth funds (up 30.49 percent), according to Lipper Analytical Services, a New York firm that tracks mutual funds. Since late August, when stocks peaked, international bond funds are up 8.18 percent, the only group with positive returns in that period.

By contrast, international stock funds, which invest in foreign equities, are up 11.87 percent this year, as declines in stocks worldwide wiped out some of the currency-related gains. All equity funds on average are up 0.17 percent so far this year.

Whether the performance can be sustained depends largely the dollar.

Whether the funds' impressive performance can be sustained, however, depends largely on whether the dollar continues to fall. Most economists think it will, because progress on cutting the U.S. trade and budget deficits will be slow. Edward A. Taber 3d, portfolio manager of the T. Rowe Price International Bond Fund, said he would not be surprised if the dollar fell 10 to 15 percent further in the next year.

Some overseas interest rates also could decline further, said Leslie J. Nambarg, manager of Massachusetts Financial International Trust-Bond Portfolio, the oldest international bond fund. Foreign central banks, he says, have become more concerned about recession than inflation. So they will be more inclined to pursue easy money policies, which drive down interest rates.

Others are not so sure. Easier money may initially drive down interest rates but will eventually produce higher inflation, which in turn will push interest rates higher, argued Michael D. Hirsch, who manages mutual fund portfolios at Republic National Bank of New York. "You could have a double whammy," Mr. Hirsch said of the adverse effect of higher inflation and interest rates on international bond funds.

Some economists also disagree with conventional wisdom and contend that the dollar is poised to rally. If that happens, the key to whether the funds can continue their strong performances depends largely on how well they hedge foreign currency risks and shift their portfolios into dollar-denominated bonds.

For example, when the dollar rallied in late spring and summer this year, the T. Rowe Price fund shifted into dollar-denominated bonds, as well as into bonds denominated in currencies that also do well when the dollar is rallying, such as the Spanish peseta and the Italian lira, Mr. Taber said. Accordingly, the fund maintained its strong returns, he said.

Accordingly, many experts say prudent investors should only put a fraction of their money into international bond funds — say, no more than 5 percent or 10 percent.

For 2 Oil Foes, the \$3 Billion Question

Pennzoil Could Use Prize To Invest, Triple Reserves

By Thomas C. Hayes
New York Times Service

DALLAS — Now that a long-sought settlement plan with Texaco Inc. has been filed, J. Hugh Liedtke stands at the twilight of a remarkable career facing a challenge that most industrialists only dream of: what to do with \$3 billion.

Mr. Liedtke, 65, took control of Pennzoil Co. in 1962. He has been its only chairman and chief executive since dissident directors of Pennzoil's forerunner, South Penn Co., named him to the post at age 39. The leader of the dissident group was J. Paul Getty.

Known for inventive financing and for recruiting a team of capable managers, Mr. Liedtke has built a company so consistently profitable that an investment of \$1,000 in Pennzoil 25 years ago would be worth more than \$120,000 today. Six companies that he has headed or created are listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

In a brief telephone interview Sunday from his secluded home west of downtown Houston, where Pennzoil is based, Mr. Liedtke said he probably would step down as chief executive at Pennzoil's annual meeting next spring, if the payment from Tex-

Major Players in the Texaco Case

TEXACO

James W. Kinneer President and chief executive. Responsible for the company's operations, he is said to have desired a quick resolution of the dispute. Informal and friendly, Mr. Kinneer has been attempting to bring a new spirit of openness to the company.

Alfred C. DeCrane Jr. Chairman. He participated in negotiations to acquire Getty Oil and has been heavily involved in the resulting litigation. He succeeded John K. McKinley, who retired Jan. 1. Mr. DeCrane has consistently portrayed Texaco as a victim of "outrageous" judicial opinions, and he has warned of a bankruptcy.

David Boies Chief legal strategist who won a major ruling for Texaco in Federal District Court that excused the company from posting a bond of more than \$10 billion while it appealed the damage award. That ruling was overturned by the Supreme Court last week. He is a partner at Cravath, Swaine & Moore and has successfully defended B.M. in a Federal antitrust case and CBS Inc. in separate legal battles.

John K. McKinley Former chairman and chief executive who retired on Jan. 1 after 45 years with the company. Getty Oil was acquired during his administration, leading to the dispute with Pennzoil. Known as a savvy, astute executive, Mr. McKinley has been credited with writing down hundreds of millions of dollars in overvalued reserves, closing inefficient refineries and otherwise streamlining Texaco's marketing operations.

PENNZOIL

J. Hugh Liedtke Chairman and chief executive. Now 65 years old, there is speculation he does not want to retire until the case is settled. In 1984, along with now U.S. Vice President George Bush, he founded the Zapata Petroleum Corp., an oil drilling concern that eventually became Pennzoil.

Joseph P. Sarnoff Jr. Lead trial attorney who represented Pennzoil in its first action against Texaco in 1985 and won. He is regarded as one of the top personal injury lawyers in Texas, where he is known as "King of the Torts." Mr. Sarnoff has been a close friend and a key adviser of Mr. Liedtke for more than 20 years.

COURTS

Solomon Caswell Texas State district judge who presided over the Texaco-Pennzoil case and entered the verdict of the jury award for \$10.5 billion. Judge Caswell, known as a flashy dresser and workaholic, took over the case after the presiding judge died and left the bench.

Texaco Must Sell Assets, Find Oil, Fight Takeovers

By Richard W. Stevenson
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Texaco Inc. has survived one of the fiercest, most unpredictable and costly legal battles in history, but its problems are by no means over.

Indeed, when it emerges from bankruptcy proceedings next year, Texaco will be forced to address fundamental business issues that were shunted aside during the four-year legal dispute with Pennzoil Co.

And Texaco may continue to labor under the possibility of a hostile takeover that could do what the Pennzoil litigation did not: break up the company.

Texaco is still plagued, as it was before its 1984 acquisition of Getty Oil Co., triggered the Pennzoil litigation, by rapidly depleting oil reserves. It has what analysts call one of the industry's worst records at finding new oil, and low-margin marketing and refining operations.

Texaco acknowledged that a major restructuring is in order once its reorganization under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy laws is complete, probably in the spring.

In its statement announcing the settlement with Pennzoil on Saturday, Texaco said it would work with its investment adviser, Morgan Stanley & Co., to take steps to improve the company and increase its stock price.

In a telephone interview Sunday, James W. Kinneer, Texaco's chief executive, said the company would undertake a financial re-

BA, in New Bid, Wins Control Of Caledonian

By Warren Getler
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — British Airways PLC said Monday that it had gained control of British Caledonian Group PLC through a sweetened £250 million (\$456.5 million) offer, ending a six-month quest to swallow its rival.

Clinging BA's bid was the decision of a venture capital group, Investors in Industry, to sell its 41.4 percent holding in Caledonian to BA at an improved price of £12.15 per share. It was the biggest single stake in Caledonian, a privately held carrier that has been plagued by debt and losses.

The new bid compared with BA's previous offer of £9.72 per share. Investors in Industry is owned by Britain's major clearing banks and the Bank of England.

The move signaled the defeat of a bid by Scandinavian Airlines System for a 26 percent stake in Caledonian. BA will now gain access to Caledonian routes to the United States, enabling it to compete with giant U.S. carriers.

BA had purchased just under 10 percent of Caledonian's shares last week. Its revised offer received the unanimous recommendation of Caledonian's board Monday.

BA originally had offered to buy all of Caledonian in July in a stock swap valued at about £37 million. But it slashed the offer after the October stock market collapse, £147 million in stock or about £119 million in cash.

Earlier this month, a bid by SAS won British regulatory approval after the Scandinavian carrier reduced the size of the stake it was seeking. SAS ended up offering £110 million in cash for an initial 26.14 percent stake, valuing Caledonian at nearly four times BA's full £119 million offer at that time.

British Airways responded by raising its cash offer first to £200 million on Friday 18 and then, on Monday, to £250 million.

Caledonian's board originally favored the SAS partial bid, arguing that it would allow the airline to retain its identity. Caledonian's board also feared job losses exceeding 2,000 in the event of a full BA takeover.

Sir Adam Thompson, Caledonian's chairman, said it had received assurances from Lord King, BA's chairman, that staff "rationalization" would be achieved by vol-

untary severance at both airlines. Helge Lindberg, deputy president of SAS, which is owned by the governments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, said, "We knew from the outset it would be a terrific uphill battle." SAS, which is based in Stockholm, said it did not expect to make a revised offer.

The SAS bid had faced opposition from politicians who opposed the notion of the airline or its route licenses falling into foreign hands.

Analysis said that BA's improved offer proved irresistible to investors in industry because it provided the consortium with a solid cash exit from its troubled holding.

Under guidelines set by Britain's Civil Aviation Authority, investors in industry would have had to maintain a substantial interest in Caledonian exceeding the SAS holding.

British Airways shares closed 4 pence higher at 164 pence on the London Stock Exchange on Monday.

Currency Rates

Cross Rates	Dec. 21
Australia	1.2825
Belgium	36.4625
France	163.25
Germany	1.3675
Italy	1.3675
Japan	163.25
Netherlands	2.2062
Spain	166.375
Switzerland	1.4875
U.K.	1.5475
U.S.	1.2825
West Germany	1.3675
Yen	163.25

Closings in London, Tokyo and Zurich, Friday, Dec. 18, 1987. New York closing rates: 12/18/87. U.S. dollar = 1.00. All other rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar.

As Political Fears Grow, Hong Kong's Brain Drain Turns Into a Flood

By Patrick L. Smith
International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — It has been a tough six months for David Stocker, area manager for Hong Kong and China at Monsanto Far East Ltd., a subsidiary of the U.S. chemical giant.

The difficulties started in July, when one of Mr. Stocker's 20 marketing professionals resigned to emigrate. Since then the drain of management talent has been steady, a casualty of the increasing political jitters afflicting Hong Kong's executive class.

Monsanto has lost 3 of its 10-member sales staff since midyear; a quarter of its 16 top executives, all Hong Kong citizens, have left both the company and the colony.

At this point, Monsanto Far East is in a crisis-management phase, Mr. Stocker said recently. Among other things, he has doubled his time on the road in recent months, since there are too few executives left sufficiently experienced to do the traveling.

"From the point of view of doing new business, it's been very disruptive," Mr. Stocker said. "What goes by the board first is market development, and on that score we've just lost a year."

Monsanto has suffered more than most foreign companies with outposts here, chiefly because it has relatively shallow management reserves. But that is the only

U.K. Police, FBI Investigate Loan Firm Over Fees

By Warren Getler
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — British police and the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation are investigating scores of complaints that a group claiming to be an international investment bank may have defrauded would-be investors out of millions of dollars by requiring advance payment for loans that never materialized.

According to police and several complainants, the company — Seaworld Investments Ltd., which also operates as Union Trust Co. — offered to find financing for multi-million dollar projects, subject to applicants first paying an up-front credit processing fee of \$5,000 (\$9,130 at current exchange rates) and then paying a commitment fee equal to one-half percent of the value of the loan.

Such terms are not unusual in brokered loan arrangements, where a broker, or "finder," acts on a paid basis to find financing for a client's project. According to police and several Seaworld loan applicants, however, clients of Seaworld and its apparent successor, Union Trust, were charged both the credit fee and the loan-commitment fee without getting any loans. The advanced fees paid may have totaled

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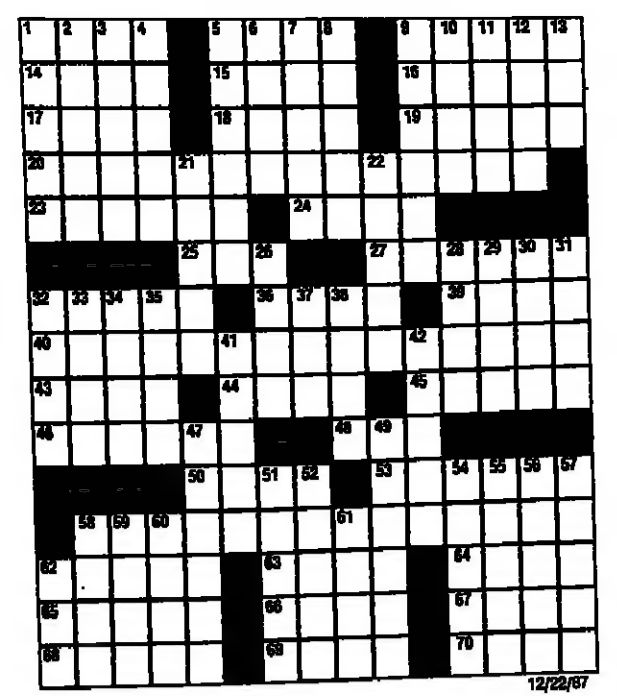
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Interest Rates

Interest Rates	Dec. 21
3-month T-bill	7.125%
6-month T-bill	7.125%
1-year T-bill	7.125%
3-month CD	7.125%
6-month CD	7.125%
1-year CD	7.125%
3-month bank loan	7.125%
6-month bank loan	7.125%
1-year bank loan	7.125%
3-month commercial paper	7.125%
6-month commercial paper	7.125%
1-year commercial paper	7.125%
3-month Eurodollar	7.125%
6-month Eurodollar	7.125%
1-year Eurodollar	7.125%
3-month London bank loan	7.125%
6-month London bank loan	7.125%
1-year London bank loan	7.125%
3-month Swiss franc loan	7.125%
6-month Swiss franc loan	7.125%
1-year Swiss franc loan	7.125%
3-month Japanese yen loan	7.125%
6-month Japanese yen loan	7.125%
1-year Japanese yen loan	7.125%
3-month Australian dollar loan	7.125%
6-month Australian dollar loan	7.125%
1-year Australian dollar loan	7.125%
3-month New Zealand dollar loan	7.125%
6-month New Zealand dollar loan	7.125%
1-year New Zealand dollar loan	7.125%

Gold

Gold	Dec. 21
Gold price (per ounce)	\$380.00
Gold price (per gram)	\$11.88
Gold price (per troy ounce)	\$1188.00
Gold price (per kilogram)	\$38000.00
Gold price (per metric ton)	\$38000000.00
Gold price (per cubic meter)	\$380000000.00
Gold price (per cubic foot)	\$3800000.00
Gold price (per cubic inch)	\$380000.00
Gold price (per cubic centimeter)	\$38000.00
Gold price (per cubic millimeter)	\$3800.00
Gold price (per cubic micrometer)	\$380.00
Gold price (per cubic nanometer)	\$38.00
Gold price (per cubic picometer)	\$3.80
Gold price (per cubic femtometer)	\$0.38
Gold price (per cubic attometer)	\$0.038
Gold price (per cubic zeptometer)	\$0.0038
Gold price (per cubic yoctometer)	\$0.00038



ACROSS

1 Enclose
5 Roster
9 Roman emperor: 68-69
14 Kind of test
15 Court name
16 Mishmash
17 — me (hands off)
18 Erode
19 Setting for "Rain"
20 Robert Donat film: 1939
23 Electrical unit
24 Fictional Jane
25 Novelist Levin
27 Maroon
32 Woven with ridges
36 Captures, as game
39 Bender
40 Film starring Gary Cooper: 1932
43 Moslem magistrate
44 Toward shelter, at sea
45 Accordion part
46 Meredith's "The — of Richard"
48 Final
50 Advantage

DOWN

13 — rule (generally)
21 "The Bartered"
22 Arête
26 Fourth person
28 Cit. of Padua
29 Dry
30 Tibetan monk
31 Once, once
32 City on the Brazos
33 Out yonder
34 Star of "Shane"
35 Lake or canal
37 October
38 Kind of club
41 Ralph — Emerson
42 Deem
47 Sea between Greece and Turkey
49 Earners
51 Jewish folklore figure
52 Roman official
54 Pined arch
55 Dug for coal
56 Incensed
57 Slinger John
58 Sped
59 Volcano in Sicily
61 Concoct
62 Estop

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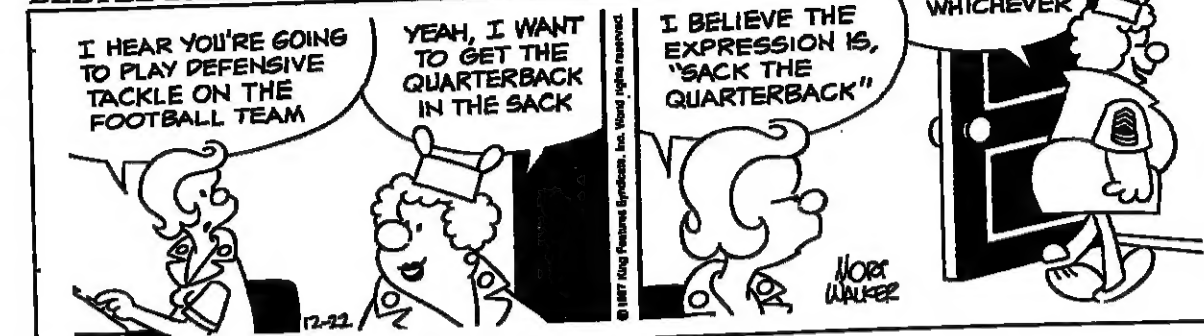
PEANUTS



BLONDIE



BEEBLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



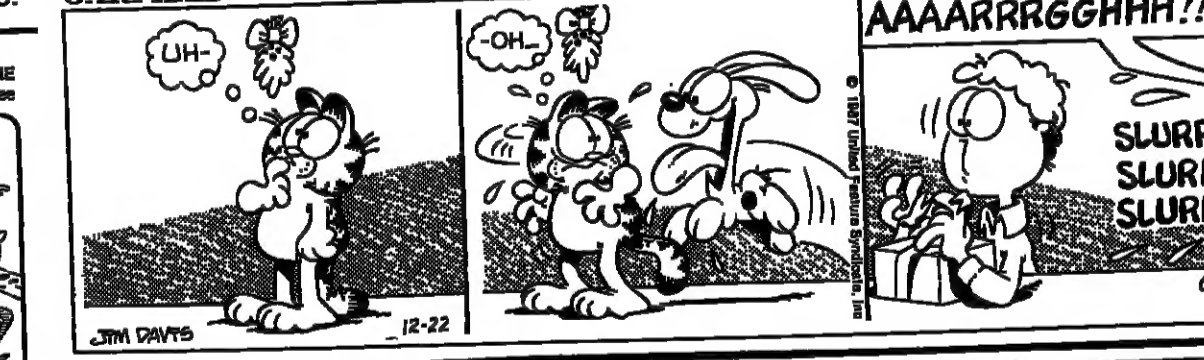
WIZARD OF ID



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



JUMBLE. THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

MOBOL

RUFT

CORNEE

GOUTUD

WHAT THE JUDGE SAID WHEN A SKUNK WALKED IN.

Unscramble the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Answer here: IN THE

Friday's Jumble: OXIDE LAUGH DROPSY PERSIN
Answer: What turtle soup is — A SHAPPY DISH

WEATHER

EUROPE

	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	11	14	57	47
Amsterdam	10	5	14	57	47
Antwerp	10	5	14	57	47
Barcelona	15	9	48	44	34
Belgrade	10	5	14	57	47
Berlin	10	5	14	57	47
Birmingham	10	5	14	57	47
Bombay	28	23	86	25	15
Buenos Aires	18	13	57	47	37
Calcutta	28	23	86	25	15
Canton	18	13	57	47	37
Cebu	28	23	86	25	15
Colon	28	23	86	25	15
Hankow	18	13	57	47	37
Harbin	18	13	57	47	37
Hong Kong	28	23	86	25	15
Kobe	18	13	57	47	37
London	10	5	14	57	47
Lyons	10	5	14	57	47
Manila	28	23	86	25	15
Medan	28	23	86	25	15
Osaka	18	13	57	47	37
Paris	10	5	14	57	47
Perth	18	13	57	47	37
Rangoon	28	23	86	25	15
San Francisco	10	5	14	57	47
Seoul	18	13	57	47	37
Singapore	28	23	86	25	15
Sourabaya	28	23	86	25	15
Taipei	18	13	57	47	37
Tokyo	18	13	57	47	37
Yokohama	18	13	57	47	37

AFRICA

	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	11	14	57	47
Amsterdam	10	5	14	57	47
Antwerp	10	5	14	57	47
Barcelona	15	9	48	44	34
Belgrade	10	5	14	57	47
Berlin	10	5	14	57	47
Birmingham	10	5	14	57	47
Bombay	28	23	86	25	15
Buenos Aires	18	13	57	47	37
Calcutta	28	23	86	25	15
Canton	18	13	57	47	37
Cebu	28	23	86	25	15
Colon	28	23	86	25	15
Hankow	18	13	57	47	37
Harbin	18	13	57	47	37
Hong Kong	28	23	86	25	15
Kobe	18	13	57	47	37
London	10	5	14	57	47
Lyons	10	5	14	57	47
Manila	28	23	86	25	15
Medan	28	23	86	25	15
Osaka	18	13	57	47	37
Paris	10	5	14	57	47
Perth	18	13	57	47	37
Rangoon	28	23	86	25	15
San Francisco	10	5	14	57	47
Seoul	18	13	57	47	37
Singapore	28	23	86	25	15
Sourabaya	28	23	86	25	15
Taipei	18	13	57	47	37
Tokyo	18	13	57	47	37
Yokohama	18	13	57	47	37

ASIA

	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	11	14	57	47
Amsterdam	10	5	14	57	47
Antwerp	10	5	14	57	47
Barcelona	15	9	48	44	34
Belgrade	10	5	14	57	47
Berlin	10	5	14	57	47
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Kobe	18	13	57	47	37
London	10	5	14	57	47
Lyons	10	5	14	57	47
Manila	28	23	86	25	15
Medan	28	23	86	25	15
Osaka	18	13	57	47	37
Paris	10	5	14	57	47
Perth	18	13	57	47	37
Rangoon	28	23	86	25	15
San Francisco	10	5	14	57	47
Seoul	18	13	57	47	37
Singapore	28	23	86	25	15
Sourabaya	28	23	86	25	15
Taipei	18	13	57	47	37
Tokyo	18	13	57	47	37
Yokohama	18	13	57	47	37

MIDDLE EAST

	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	11	14	57	47
Amsterdam	10	5	14	57	47
Antwerp	10	5	14	57	47
Barcelona	15	9	48	44	34
Belgrade	10	5	14	57	47
Berlin	10	5	14	57	47
Birmingham	10	5	14	57	47
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Osaka	18	13	57	47	37
Paris	10	5	14	57	47
Perth	18	13	57	47	37
Rangoon	28	23	86	25	15
San Francisco	10	5	14	57	47
Seoul	18	13	57	47	37
Singapore	28	23	86	25	15
Sourabaya	28	23	86	25	15
Taipei	18	13	57	47	37
Tokyo	18	13	57	47	37
Yokohama	18	13	57	47	37

OCEANIA

	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	11	14	57	47
Amsterdam	10	5	14	57	47
Antwerp	10	5	14	57	47
Barcelona	15	9	48	44	34
Belgrade	10	5	14	57	47
Berlin	10	5	14	57	47
Birmingham	10	5	14	57	47
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Sourabaya	28	23	86	25	15
Taipei	18	13	57	47	37
Tokyo	18	13	57	47	37
Yokohama	18	13	57	47	37

TUESDAY'S FORECAST — CHANNEL: Slightly rough. FRANKFURT: 9-17 (12-41). OVERCAST: 9-17 (12-41). LONDON: Partly cloudy. 9-17 (12-41). NEW YORK: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). PARIS: Cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). ROME: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). TEL AVIV: Not available. ZURICH: Cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). TOKYO: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). SINGAPORE: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). HONG KONG: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). MANILA: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). Cebu: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). BANGKOK: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). PHILIPPINES: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). THAILAND: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). VIETNAM: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). CAMBODIA: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). LAOS: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). BURMA: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). SRI LANKA: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). INDIA: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). PAKISTAN: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). BANGLADESH: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). NEPAL: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). BHUTAN: Partly cloudy. 13-17 (41-54). 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ART BUCHWALD

Stick to His Private Life

WASHINGTON — I hope he doesn't mind my saying so, but I think Gary Hart is campaigning the wrong way. By insisting on discussing the issues and not his private life, he is losing votes and alienating the majority of the country.

If he is serious about coming back this is what he should be saying when he holds an impromptu press conference on a cold and windy street corner in New Hampshire.

"Senator Hart, can you give us some idea how you would solve the problem of the worst budget deficit in history?"

"I will not discuss public issues publicly. The country's deficit happens to be a private matter between myself and my wife. Why don't you ask me serious questions about Donna Rice?"

"Gary, don't you think it's your duty as a candidate to reveal what you intend to do about the Star Wars program which will cost the nation billions of dollars?"

"It's nobody's business what I plan to do about SDI. I will answer your questions about Bimini and Miami, but don't try to get me to tell you about my defense strategies. It has nothing to do with why I am in New Hampshire."

"Mr. Hart, don't you believe the public has a right to know where you stand on Social Security?"

"No, I am prepared to answer any questions you have on my philosophy, but my thoughts as to how I feel about Social Security will remain in my bedroom."

"Senator Hart, since you got back in the race, everyone has been

talking about your position vis-a-vis farm subsidies. Are we to assume that you will back farm subsidies if you become president?"

"I never said I would back farm subsidies. This is something the media made up. My family is furious with the innuendoes you people have printed that I favor more acreage for soybeans than I do for alfalfa. Everyone makes mistakes and I have admitted mine. Now I'll be happy to take questions as to where Donna Rice slept when she came to Washington."

"Senator, I think you're trying to change the subject. We as responsible newspaper people, want to know if you will ask for a new tariff on pig iron and steel to stop the flooding of foreign metal to these shores."

"I do not have to answer that question. Why don't you ask if there were any other women in my life besides you-know-who?"

"With all due respect, Senator, that is not news. Our job is to inquire about your attitude toward improving relations between the United States and Norway."

"There you go again. How would you like it if someone asked you if you had had relations with Norway? I've got to get my campaign on the track again, and you people refuse to let me do it. If you really want to be fair, why don't you print pictures of me on the Monkey Business? I'll tell you why — because it would ruin the one story you all have on your minds, which is politics."

"How can we find out where you stand on the issues if you insist they are private matters?"

"I follow me around. If anybody wants to put a tail on me, go ahead, but they will be very bored."

"Does that include day care centers, Mr. Hart?"

"I don't have to answer that question. But I will answer anything you want to ask me about my trip to Las Vegas."

"Could we talk about where you see America going?"

"When you ask me that I only become angry and defiant. Why are you all so obsessed with political trivia? The only thing the voters are interested in is what a man does in his personal life."

If you follow this script, Gary, they can't lay a finger on you.



Buchwald

The 'Posthumous' Lévi-Strauss

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

PARIS — André Malraux is dead. Jean-Paul Sartre is dead. Raymond Aron is dead. The age of France's intellectual giants is past, and it is now customary to bemoan the decline of culture and even thought in France, to rail at the tawdry ascendancy of television and the transformation of writers into entertainers.

Yet if one climbs a narrow staircase in the Collège de France, near the Pantheon on the Left Bank, one can encounter the last unconverted giant of French letters. Alert and nimble at 79, Claude Lévi-Strauss jests that he is toiling at his "posthumous works."

Lévi-Strauss fashioned a theoretical and empirical oeuvre that decoded the myths of so-called primitive peoples as attempts to explain existence; penned a literary and anthropological classic, "Tristes Tropiques," and, unintentionally, godfathered the movement known as structuralism, the search for underlying patterns of thought in all forms of human activity.

In the complexities of this century, he has become skeptical of a single thinker's ability to explain "all the great problems," and has watched the political vision of his old rival Sartre fall apart in a few years after his death. "One does not try to be a giant," said the courtly Lévi-Strauss, who speaks in cadences of precision while a smile plays on his owlish countenance. "One tries to be a good artisan."

He does not particularly like this century, and says he would have preferred to live in the 19th century. "When someone like Victor Hugo could imagine applying his reflection to all the problems of humanity — something that has become an unrealizable dream and a folly," but his researches into vanishing cultures like those of the Indians of Brazil and the United States have made him doubtful about the 19th century's most hallowed idea: progress.

"I believe one has to abandon the idea of global, massive progress that is valid for all societies," he said. "I think one can speak of progress with a little 'p,' and in the plural. In certain epochs, in certain places of the earth, certain progress has occurred, which have probably been paid for by regression in other domains."

This is a long trajectory from the young socialist militant who in the late 1930s thought he would become a political theorist. In 1941, belatedly realizing that being Jewish put him at risk in Hitler's Europe, Lévi-Strauss fled Vichy France and found refuge in New York with other exiled European intellectuals.

"It was completely decisive, the most fruitful period of my life," he said, recalling his encounters with American ethnologists, long hours logged at the New York Public Library and a little rented room in Manhattan. "Ev-



Claude Lévi-Strauss at 1979 meeting of the Académie Française.

everything I know I learned in the United States. And I adore New York, a superb city."

He had several job offers that would have permitted him to stay in the United States, but felt an irresistible tug back to France. "I belong to the Old World," he said with an apologetic sigh. "I can't help it. I feel it very profoundly."

The Old World today looks less robust to him, menaced somewhat in the same manner as the fragile Indian tribes that he studied in Brazil a half century ago. "I have the concern insofar as I mix in practical things, which is very little, to defend a certain number of values which are those of my society and which I consider to be threatened. They are threatened by the Soviet Union, by Islamic fundamentalism and by the demographic growth of the Third World."

Western industrial nations, he argued, do not have the kinds of all-embracing myths common to primitive peoples, but popular-

ized versions of history partly fill the void left by the withering of religious faith.

"I think that a society cannot live without a certain number of irrational beliefs. They are protected from criticism and analysis because they are irrational."

Lévi-Strauss speculated that the very complexity of the late 20th century contributed to a "slowing down" of intellectual activity in France. But he said no society was capable of being "exceptionally productive or original in a permanent fashion."

"All over in the world," he mused, "one is seeking more than one is finding."

He called the exaggerated claims made for structuralism a distortion of ideas he once applied to linguistics.

I believe that French society, and especially Parisian, is gluttonous," he said, "and that every five years or so it needs to stuff something new in its mouth. And so five years ago it was structuralism, and now it is something else."

"I practically don't dare use the word 'structuralism' anymore since it has been so badly deformed. I am certainly not the father of structuralism."

This refusal to be a prophet, a guru, another Sartre, is one of Lévi-Strauss' most salient traits in a France that hungers for what are called master thinkers. Pierre Bourdieu, a sociologist at the Collège de France, noted that "one of his effects has been to change the nature of the French intellectual, to propose something more modest."

When Lévi-Strauss was elected to the Académie Française in 1973, there was an outcry of protest among colleagues and students, who accused him of selling out to the establishment. But in his maiden speech to the academy, the anthropologist reminded them that, just as they respected the customs of primitive peoples so, too, they should respect those of France.

What does it mean to be a Jew in France today? The question stopped him, and a long pause ensued. "It means that one belongs to a certain intellectual climate," he finally answered. "And one knows that one runs the risk of being disputed for that reason. But I feel myself to be so profoundly French that I don't think about it willingly or readily."

His visitor ventured that after Hitler it must mean something more than that, but he answered that he felt simply that he belonged "to a fraction of humanity on which a kind of enormous catastrophe has fallen" — but no different from another fraction of humanity that could be ravaged by a natural disaster.

History for Lévi-Strauss is whimsical and unpredictable, "progress" is uneven at best and certainly relative, and there is no God. His interlocutor suggested that this was a pessimistic vision.

"I would say that it is completely indifferent to me," he answered with a gentle smile. "I try to understand. I am not a moralist at all."

PEOPLE

It's Boy for Mia, Woody

Woody Allen and Mia Farrow, his longtime companion and leading lady, are the parents of a 9-pound baby boy named Satchel, the New York Daily News reported. The baby, born in New York Saturday, was delivered by Caesarean section, the News said. Satchel is the first child for Allen, 52, who is the legal father of two of Farrow's five adopted children. Farrow, 42, has four children of her own.

Shirley Williams, 57, president and one of the founders of Britain's Social Democratic Party, and Richard Neustadt, 66, a Harvard University political scientist and former U.S. presidential adviser, married Saturday in Old Hall Green, England, sealing what he called a "trans-Atlantic yuppie relationship." It is the second marriage for both.

The French rock singer Johnny Hallyday, 44, announced plans to marry the journalist Gisele Galante, the daughter of the American film star Olivia de Havilland. It will be the singer's second marriage and Galante's first. With his first wife, Sylvie Vartan, Hallyday had a son, David, who is now a film actor in Hollywood. Hallyday also has a young daughter by the actress Nathalie Baye.

A British pilot forced to make an emergency landing on a road in southern Jordan while trying to fly a microlight plane from Britain to Australia met King Hussein on Sunday. A palace spokesman said Brian Milton told the king and his son Prince Abdullah about his bid to fly the 150-kilogram (330-pound) Dalgely Flier from London to Darwin in 30 days. Milton said his plane, which arrived in Amman on Sunday, developed engine trouble an hour after leaving the Red Sea port of Aqaba on Saturday because of a refueling error. "The engines began sputtering and my heart was thumping," he said. "I spotted a road, circled lower and lower, and landed after waiting for a truck to pass." A Jordanian maintenance crew and medical teams flew to his rescue in military helicopters from Amman. Milton, a former journalist and hang-gliding instructor from Bristol, left London's new Docklands airport on Dec. 7 to fly to Australia in 30 days to commemorate a 1919 air raid. But high winds flipped his plane over after a landing on the desert island of Kythera, causing a 5-day delay. He now aims to complete the trip in 30 flying days.

The Reverend William, Stuart Coffin, 63, who gained fame as a leader of protests in the 1960s, said goodbye to his congregation in a farewell sermon to more than 2,000 worshippers gathered at Riverside Church in New York. Coffin, a longtime opponent of nuclear weapons, is to become president early next year of a Washington-based disarmament group, SANE. He announced his decision to leave the interdenominational church last summer. Coffin led 1960s protests against racial segregation and the Vietnam War. He had been at the church for 10 years.

Dame Peggy Ashcroft, who won an Oscar for the movie "A Passage to India" and will be 89 Tuesday, was honored Sunday by directors and fellow actors. "Peggy will be remembered as a great, great actress at a time of great, great actors," said Sir Peter Hall, the director who called on Dame Peggy to help him from the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1960. There, Peggy, the Tony-winning director, also spoke during "Her Infinite Variety," the three-hour tribute whose name comes from a line in the Shakespeare play describing Cleopatra's appeal. "I am nuts about Peggy. I love Peggy. Peggy can do no wrong, has never done any wrong, will do no wrong," he said. The show at the Old Vic Theatre in London, devised by Tony Church of the Royal Shakespeare Company, featured excerpts from plays and speeches with which Dame Peggy has been associated, such as Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrew" and "Antony and Cleopatra." Jane Fonda, whose movies have won her two Oscars and whose opposition to the Vietnam War have many still calling her "Hanoi Jane," turned 50 on Monday. She enters her sixth decade with three exercise videos in the Top 20 of Billboard magazine's list. The most recent of her seven Academy Award nominations came last year, for her portrayal of a boozey, out-of-control actress in "The Morning After."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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